THE

JOURNAL

OF THE

NUMISMATIC SOCIETY OF INDIA

VOL. VIII DECEMBER 1946 PART II

Issued in August, 1947

EDITOR

PROF. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D.LITT.,

Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture
Benares Hindu University

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS[1]

BY DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Circumstances partly unfortunate and partly accidental have suddenly forced me into the presidential chair at the 11th hour. The distinguished scholar and archæologist whom you elected to the presidential chair last year, Rao Bahadur K N. Dikshit, died suddenly last August. I was naturally expecting that our Vice-President, Rao Bahadur Prayag Dayal, would step into the unfortunate breach and act as the President. But a week ago I. learnt that he was unable to attend the meeting and that I, as the Chief Editor, would have to take his place I was wondering for a while whether I should accept such a heavy responsibility at so short a notice, but I discovered that there was hardly any alternative.

THE LATE RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT

The Society is overwhelmed with intense grief at the sudden, tragic and premature death of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit. When we elected him President last year, we all hoped that the Society will be benefited by his wise and skilful guidance for a number of years; I was hoping that as he was relieved of the onerous duties of the Director General of Archæology, he would kindly relieve me of the Chief Editorship of the Journal of the Society, which I had accepted at his pressing request seven years ago. But fate had willed it otherwise. He had not even begun to draw his pension when death suddenly snatched him away. His varied experience and mature scholarship were expected to flower into a number of valuable publications and activities during the comparative leisure of retirement, but all these hopes are dashed to pieces. The late R. B. Dikshit rose by sheer force of merit; had he not obtained a number of scholarships for standing first in his Matriculation Examination, he would not have been able to become a graduate. He was a thorough Sanskritist, but had a real liking for archæology. His excavation work at Mohenjo-Daro, Pahadpur and Ramanagar has led to remarkable discoveries and establishe this reputation as a great archæologist. The Numismatic Society was always dear to his heart. He was its member for sixteen years and was twice elected to its presidentship. He was also working

1. Delivered at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India held at Patna on 29-12-1946.

as editor of the Numismatic Supplement for some time and has contributed many papers of high numismatic importance.

PROGRESS OF THE SOCIETY

Let us now take a bird's eye view of the progress and condition of the Society. Our membership is gradually on the increase. Numismatics is no doubt a very technical subject, which is properly taught only in two or three universities of India. Our membership cannot be therefore very large ; it is in fact much larger than the membership of the History Congress, which undoubtedly makes a wider appeal. Nevertheless it must be observed that we all must make efforts to increase our membership. This is very necessary not only to stabilise our finances, but also to increase the number of field workers who would be collecting coins. The progress of numismatic studies depends to a great extent on the success of coin collectors.

It was in 1939 that we decided to have our own independent Journal. In the beginning it was published once in the year but soon it became a six-monthly publication. There can be no doubt that the Society took a wise step in deciding to have its own independent Journal. It has given a greater impetus to research work in the field of Numismatics. The Numismatic Supplements that we published during the decade 1929 to 1938 covered 565 pages. We were having 55 pages a year on the average. The seven volumes of the Journal from 1939 to 1945 cover 1040 pages giving on the average 150 pages a year, in spite of the paper difficulty. During this period the Journal has brought to light about 20 new kings of ancient India, whose existence was not even dreampt of by the scholars working in the field. It is a matter of great satisfaction that the number of contributors who send scholarly papers is also on the increase. There was a time when the editors were required to find material for the greater part of the pages of the Journal ; now good papers are beginning to come from a large number of persons. It is however a matter of regret that scholars working in the field of Medieval and Modern history should be showing not suffcient interest in the numismatics of the period. We get very few papers bearing on Medieval coinages. Papers bearing on Ancient Indian numismatics published in the Journal are about four times more numerous than those published on Medieval Indian numismatics. Papers on South Indian Numismatics are also rarely received for publication. I would appeal to scholars in Medieval and South Indian history to take greater interest in this rather neglected branch of the subject. As soon as the present printing and press difficulties disappear, it should be our

endeavour to issue the Journal as a quarterly publication. This step is necessary to ensure a speedier publication of the research material. Under the present arrangement many important papers remain unpublished for seven or eight months, which is very depressing and unfortunate.

The quarterly publication of the Journal containing numerous research papers is no doubt good in its own way, but we should not be content with this achievement. The time has come when the Society should plan and carry out a more ambitious and enduring scheme of Research Publications. We have no doubt a number of excellent catalogues of the coins in the different Museums, but they are going out of print and also becoming incomplete owing to fresh additions and discoveries. Besides they are not very convenient for study by students and research workers, who would be glad to be relieved of the necessity of consulting several catalogues and journals for the numismatic material of a single dynasty or period. It is therefore urgently necessary to publish corpus volumes on the coinages of all the dynasties and states of ancient and medieval India. A still more pressing necessity is to have Standard Works of Reference for the Ancient, and Medieval numismatics, the absence of which is very adversely affecting the popularisation of numismatic studies. If our Society undertakes and carries out the above schemes of publication, it will undoubtedly have monumental and enduring work to its credit and attain an eminent position as a Research Society, not only holding annual conferences, but also doing substantial and solid work. No other body in the country is in a position to do this work.

Side by side with this solid and scholarly work, we must also organise the publication of a number of small and popular manuals, preferably in different Indian languages, which should aim at spreading the knowledge of the broad outlines of the science of numismatics to the general public. It is from among its rank that we can recruit our future coin collectors and numismatic scholars.

Appeal to Governments for Help

You may well enquire whether it will be ever possible for the Society with its slender financial resources to undertake this ambitious and costly programme of publication. I personally see no insuperable difficulties in the matter. It is true that the time was not far distant when we found ourselves in the unenviable position of having to finance a publication bill amounting to about double the income of our regular membership. We however succeeded in tiding over the diffi-

culty by securing small recurring grants from some of the Provincial Governments and Indian States like the Governments of Bombay, U. P., Punjab, Orissa and Hyderabad. There is no reason why we should not get greater and greater assistance from all governments if we produce more and more useful and substantial work.

Numismatics is an important branch of Archæology, but curiously enough it has been receiving a rather step-motherly treatment both from the majority of Provincial Governments and the Central Government. Provincial Governments expect that the Society should give due publicity to the new additions to their museum collections in the pages of its Journal bearing all the heavy cost of photographing, block-making and printing. The Government of India do not seem to have yet realised that Numismatics is a part of Archæology. They are rightly taking all proper steps to publish old and historical inscriptions through two official Journals of their own, Epigraphia Indica and Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica. For this purpose they have maintained an effcient epigraphical department costing them about Rs. 36,000 in the salaries of editors and assistant editors and about an equal sum for the printing of the two Journals. While the Government of India thus spends more than Rs. 70,000 for publishing new epigraphic material, it is strange, nay almost unbelievable, that it should not have organised a similar Journal for publishing new numismatic material, so valuable for the recovery and reconstruction of history. I must however confess that our Society is to a great extent responsible for this relative neglect of the Government of India. It was of itself organising the proper publication of all new numismatic material first in its Numismatic Supplements and later in its Journal, leaving no scope for the Government to do any thing further in the matter. The programme, however, that I have outlined above is clearly beyond the slender means of the Society and can be carried out only with the help and co-operation of the Central, States, and Provincial Governments. I have no doubt that governments will respond favourably to our reasonable representations in this matter.

PUBLICATIONS IN THE YEAR

During the year 1946, the joint number for 1945 was brought out in July 1946. It covers 126 pages and contains 28 papers on different subjects. It is to be regretted that the June Number of 1946 is not yet out. We are however still living in abnormal times. All good presses are tremendously overworked and it is almost impossible to get printing done satisfactorily and in time. Paper difficulty is still acute. Had it not come in the way, we may have succeeded in bringing

out the June Number by this time. I may however be permitted to observe that our Journal appears much more regularly and in a much less attenuated size than is the case with most of the learned Journals in India or abroad.

Problem of Indo-Bactrian Coins

Let me now turn to matters of academic and research importance. During the last two years problems connected with Indo-Bactrian coinage have been engaging my attention and I think I may profitably discuss them in this learned gathering. There is no doubt that the coins of this series are extensively forged because of the fancy prices they fetch from European and American purchasers. But it is equally true that genuine coins too are sometimes discovered and some of them are historically important. To make the matters more complicated, these genuine coins are often mixed up with forged pieces and this association naturally raises further suspicions about them. The task of the Chief Editor, when Indo-Bactrian coins are sent to him for publication, thus becomes very difficult. If he rejects genuine coins on the suspicion that they may be spurious, he becomes guilty of suppressing the publication of important historical material. If, on the other hand, he commits an error of judgment and publishes as genuine coins which are forged, he becomes guilty of misleading the research workers in a field of history, which is still shrowded in deep mystery.

I was faced with this dilemma two years ago when I eventually decided to publish some didrachms of Hermaios in Vol. VI of our Journal. One of these didrachms contained a monogram, till then known to be occurring on the coins only of Vonones, Spalahores and Spalagadames. If this didrachm of Hermaios was genuine, it clearly tended to show that part of the kingdom of Hermaios was annexed by Vonones soon after his death. He would be his successor and not Kadpheses I, as was apparently suggested by the so-called joint coinage. Now if this coin was genuine but had been refused publication on the suspicion of forgery, an important piece of historical evidence would have been suppressed. If on the other hand, it was a forgery and still published as genuine, scholars would have been misled. After carefully weighing all evidence, I felt, that the coin was genuine and I published it. Within a month of its publication, Major-General Sir Gordon Jolly of Simla and Dr. Unwala of Naosari wrote to me to say that they had in their coin cabinets didrachms of Hermaios with precisely the same Indo-Scythian monogram. It became clear that the didrachm published was not a solitary specimen fabricated by a historian anxious to disprove the

contemporaneity of Hermaios and Kadphises, but that there were many other coins of the same class not noticed before. The refusal to publish this coin on the ground of its uniqueness tending to suggest forgery would have been a mistake.

During the last two years a large number of Indo-Greek coins were submitted to me for examination and publication and I decided to study the whole problem very carefully. I ransacked old Journals giving the views of General Cunningham, who was undoubtedly the greatest coin collector. I spent about a week in Taxila and Lahore comparing carefully the coins that were rejected as forgeries with those that were accepted as genuine in the Museums at these places. I came to the conclusion that while an unskilful forgery from a mould or a die could be easily detected, there will always be a fair number of cases where opinions will differ according to personal judgment. For instance, the Punjab Museum tetradrachm of Eucratides No. 66, appeared to me as suspicious, because the features of the king are quite unlike those appearing on his genuine coins. The hemidrachms of Apollodotus showed such a striking variety of features that it appeared difficult for me to hold that they were all genuine. But such an authority as Whitehead has classed them all as genuine. Probably he held that the dominions of Apollodotus were extensive and that the crude hemidrachms were issued from out of the way mints, which were not manned by skilful mint-masters.

It is fairly easy to detect forgeries from moulds. The cast coins have usually a kind of dull and frosty appearance; they hardly show small reliefs of the original. There is an excess of sharpness at the edge and if the letters on the original are crowded, they are often linked up in the forged piece. Sometimes there are minute holes on the surface or obtrusions due to air bubbles.

In the case of forgeries from dies, Cunningham has admitted that it would be impossible to detect a forgery from a genuine coin, if the die-cutter is very skilful. Usually however such is not the case. He sometimes forgets to copy small details like the upright stroke of a monogram, sometimes he leaves out the first or the last letter of the legend, even when there is space for them; sometimes his workmanship does not come up to the original standard. The edges are usually not worn out and sometimes they show unusual and sharp cuts. If however these mistakes are avoided, it will be difficult to detect a forgery. The only certain proof of the genuineness of Indo-Greek coins would be their discovery in archæological excavations in the appropriate strata.

I think that it is in the interest of history that we should proceed to publish new Indo-Greek coins after as careful a scrutiny as possible. Recently two lots of these coins came to me for examination. One of it contained 24 coins, of which 17 were spurious and 7 genuine in my opinion. I sent this lot to the Late Rao Bahadur Dikshit, and asked him to make an independent examination. He concurred with my findings except in one case. One coin rejected by me as spurious was thought by him to be genuine. The late Rao Bahadur wrote to me to say how an absolute agreement was difficult and how he and Sir Gordon Jolly used to spend hours in trying to arrive at an agreement about the genuineness or otherwise of suspicious Indo-Greek coins. The other lot of Indo Greek coins contained 13 pieces, some of which were very rare. All these coins except one appeared to me to be genuine for various reasons that are explained in the relevant paper that is being published in the *Journal* Vol. VIII pp. 51-59.[1] I have come to the conclusion that we should follow a more helpful policy in connection with the Indo-Greek coins by accepting them for publication; their facsimiles will enable them to be studied by the numismatists here and abroad, and they also will be in a position to express their opinion in the subsequent numbers of the *Journal*.

NEW DISCOVERIES:

A NEW VARIETY OF PUNCH-MARKED COINS

Let me now turn to the new discoveries of the year. A new type of punch-marked coins has recently come to light. Where these coins were found is not known, but they were offered to me for sale by a coin dealer from Lucknow. I have got here the photographs of five of them which were purchased for the Hindu University, and members will see from them that these coins are larger and thinner than the so-colled Kośala variety of the Punch-Marked coins published by the late Babu Durga Prasad. These coins have no symbols on the reverse. The symbols on the obverse are usually five. Among them the Six-armed Symbol, the Branch and the Sun are the usual ones, but in addition they show the Arrow strung to the Bow and another peculiar symbol consisting of a Knob with dots all round. Both these symbols are new to the punch-marked series and the present coins undoubtedly constitute a new variety. I hope to publish a paper upon these coins in the *Journal* in due course

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1. This number of the *Journal* has since been published.

HERMAIOS—KADPHISES COINS

Let me now make a few observations about the so-called joint coinage of Hermaios and Kadphises I. During my visit to Taxila in the Christmas of 1945, Mr. A. Ghosh, Superintendent of Archæology, showed me a number of coins picked up at that place in the fields after the rains. Among them there were five of the well-known Hermaios-Kodphises type, but showing unmistakably how the type was being mechanically copied by barbarous rulers after the death of Hermaios. The photographs of the coins will show that in the majority of cases the features bear no resemblance whatsoever to those of Hermaios. This group of five coins, whose photographs are here with me today, illustrates much more clearly than the coins so far published in the different catalogue and show, that it would be wrong to suppose that Hermaios and Kadphises I were contemporaries. We have to assume that the Hermaios type continued to be mechanically copied in a progressively degraded form by a number of rulers after the disappearance of Hermaios and that Kadphises I was probably the last of them. We have to give up the view that those two rulers were contemporaries because of the-so-called joint coinage. These coins will be published and illustrated in a paper in this *Journal* in due course.

THE KASARWAD HOARD

The discovery of a lot of 130 Ujjain coins at one place during the excavations at Kasarwad in Malwa throws important light on the coinage of the province during the early centuries of the Christian era. Its importance has been discussed by me and Mr. Diskalkar in our paper published later in this number at pp. 99-106.

COINS OF THE SEBAKA DYNASTY

Mr. H. Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan) has made a very valuable coin collection of Deccan coins and Principal Mirashi has already shown with its help how we have now definite evidence of the actual existence of a king named Sātavāhana, after whom the dynasty was named. The same coin collection has recently enabled Prin. Mirashi to throw important light on the mystery of the Āndhra-Bhritya dynasty. Elsewhere in this number is a paper from the valuable pen of Prin. Mirashi on the coins of king Prakāśa-Śiva Sebaka and some other members of his dynasty, showing that there actually did flourish a Sebaka or Bhṛitya dynasty after the downfall of the Āndhras; it appears to have been described as Āndhra-Bhṛityas by the Purāṇas, probably because it was originally a

feudatory of the Andhras. This discovery of Prin. Mirashi is a very improtant one.

A NEW SĀTAVĀHANA COIN

The Tarhala hoard of the Sātavāhana coins had enabled Prin. Mirashi to bring many new Sātavāhana kings to light, not mentioned in the long list of the Purāṇas. Mr. Kaus' collection has now enabled him to discover one more Sātavāhana king Kauśikī-putra Ṣātakarṇi so far altogether unknown to us. His paper on his coin appears elsewhere in this number.

INSCRIBED GADHIA COINS

Mr. Roshanlal Samar, an advocate of Udaipur, recently sent me some interesting coins for examination. Apart from some new varieties of the well-known coinage of the Śibi Janapada, they have some coins of the Indo-Sassanian type, which have short cryptic legends in front of the face of the king. A preliminary inspection has shown to me that some of these legends are S'rīhaka or Śrīhara S'rīvara, Śrīga and Kugovaśri. Indo-Sassanian coins with legends are rare and so the importance of the discovery of these coins cannot be minimised. When they are carefully studied, they will enable us to throw considerable light on the history of southern Rajputana during the 7th and 8th centuries.

A HOARD OF YĀDAVA COINS

A small but interesting hoard of five gold coins was discovered in a field in the village Parsadih in the Raigarh state in Central Provinces. Mr. J. Mahant, Bar-at-law, was good enough to send these coins to me for examination and publication. On examining the five coins, I found that one of them was a Mohur of Nasiru-d-din Muhmud I, *de jure* emperor of Delhi during 1246-1266, and four were the *Padmaṭaṅkas* of the Yādava dynasty. Out of four, three were the issues of the famous and powerful Yādava king Siṅghaṇa (1210 to 1247 A. D.), and the name of the issuer of the fourth is not preserved well enough for decipherment. The historical importance of this discovery is being discussed by me in a paper published later in this number.

MOGHAL COINS FROM KOLHAPUR.

During his recent travels in south India Dr. Pannalal had an occasion to visit Kolhapur and examine Moghul coins recently discovered in the excavations at Brahmapuri near the city. He reports the discovery of a hither-to-unknown mint named Tārāmatī, from which Muhmad Shah (1719-1748) had issued

some coins. His paper on this interesting topic appears elsewhere in this number.

ZODIAC SILVER EIGHT ANNA PIECE.

Mr. Gyani, our Secretary, has made a very interesting discovery of a silver eight anna piece of Jahangir's Zodiac. It bears the sign gemini and is dated 1027 A.H. No silver eight anna piece of this type was so far known.

DRAVYAPARĪKSHĀ A NEW WORK ON NUMISMATICS.

Works on Numismatics either in Sanskrit or Prakrit are so far unknown and so the discovery of a Prakrit work on the subject by Feru is undoubtedly an important event; I am indebted to Mr. R.G. Gyani for drawing my attention to it. Feru was a Jain of Śrīmāla family, who had risen to high office under Allauddin Khalji. He appears to have been in charge of his mint. From a note on the work written by Muni Kantisagar, it appears that the work was composed in 1329 A.D. and that it takes a survey of the coins then current or known. The weight, values, names and metallic contents of the coins known as Devagiri, Khurasani, Vikramārka, Ajayapuri, Bhīmapuri, Māḷavi, Jālandhari, Chandarikā and Nalapuri. The coins of Kanhapur, Sodhalapur, Bhimapura and Visalapura are also described. The work naturally devotes considerable space to the description of the coins of Allauddin and Kutubuddin, the former of whom is described by the other as *Kalikālachakravarti*. *Dravyaparīkshā* is undoubtedly a work of great numismatic importance, and when properly edited and published, will throw considerable light on late Hindu and early Muslim coinage.

A NEW HOARD OF GUPTA GOLD COINS

The most sensational discovery of the year is however that of a large hoard of gold Gupta coins made in the state of Bharatpur quite recently. The exact number of the coins in this hoard is not yet definitely known, but I understand on good authority that it is in the vicinity of two thousand. If so, this would be the largest single hoard of Gupta coins to be so far discovered and recovered in the country. Prof. Sharma of Bharatpur was good enough to show me 24 coins of this hoard. These contained some of the well known types of Chandragupta I, Kāchagupta, Samudragupta, Chandragupta II, and Kumārgupta I. Whether the collection that is brought to Patna by Prof. Sharma is a representative one, I do not know; but there is no doubt that if this huge hoard is carefully and scientifically studied, it will throw important light on many of the obscure points of the Gupta history. Even in the 24 coins

brought here, there is one type probably of Kumāragupta I, hitherto unknown to us. On the obverse of this coin, we have the Chhatra type, but on the reverse the king as horseman is shown as hunting a rhinoceros, standing just in front of his horse. Lion-slayer and Tiger-slayer types of the Gupta emperors were known so far, but the Rhinoceros-slayer type is absolutely unique. In the coins examined by me there was one of the so-called Pratāpa type of Kumāragupta I. So far only one coin of this type was known to exist and that is in the British Museum. Its legend on the obverse is very indistinct and illegible. The coin seen by me shows clearer traces of the legend, and what is more gratifying, I understand that there are 12 coins of this type in this hoard. I feel sanguine that we shall be now in a position to understand the mystery of the other side of this type, where we find two young and assertive ladies arguing before a figure which looks like that of the Buddha.

H. H. Maharja of Bharatpur and his state are to be congratulated on the discovery of this important hoard, which seems to have put them in the proud possession of the largest hoard of Gupta coins ever discovered in the country. I would request the Maharaja to get the hoard carefully examined and classified by a competent authority, so that it may be properly and fully utilised for the reconstruction of our past history. No coins of the hoard should be distributed or disposed of before this is done. I also trust that Bharatpur government will see to it that no rare and unique coins of the hoard leave the shores of our country. India has already suffered heavily by most of its rare coins being exported out of the country during the last and this century. I trust that the different governments and museums will seize this opportunity to make their own collections full and representative, when later on the Bharatpur government may decide to dispose of the duplicate types.

This survey of the new numismatic discoveries made during the course of the year will thus show that there is still ample scope for research in the field of numismatics both for the field worker and the researcher. There are still many gaps in our knowledge of the history of our motherland which can be filled only by numismatic discoveries and researches. It is very necessary that the numismatics should become a popular hobby, at least among the village teachers, *mukhias* and accountants. I shudder to think of the large number of coins that go to the melting pot every year after the rainy season owing to the sheer ignorance of our village folk. It is high time that the various governments should realise that they are as much responsible for the prevention of the melting of coins as for the prevention of dacoitics and murders. They

ought to send circulars to all their village officers to despach to the collector all old coins that may peep out of mounds and fields after the rainy season, specially in the vicinity of sites known to be ancient. The Collectors ought to send these coins to the coin committees of different provinces; which should consist of real workers in numismatics and not merely of big officers. When these coins are studied year after year, we shall continue to make important discoveries. It is very urgent that the number of workers in medieval and south Indian coinage should increase considerably; their dearth is undoubtedly affecting the progress of numismatic studies in these spheres. It is essential that the finances of our society should become sounder and stronger, so that it may be enabled to issue its *Journal* as a quarterly and undertake the publication of Standard Works of Reference on numismatics and Corpus Volumes on the coins of different dynasties, the absence of which is seriously affecting the progress of numismatic studies and researches.

KASARWAD HOARD OF 'UJJAIN' COINS

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares

and

Mr. D. B. Diskalkar, M. A., Curator, Indore Museum.

Indore.

'Ujjain' coins have been known to numismatists for nearly a century, but their precise find spots have not been properly noted. Hoards of these coins have hardly ever been recorded and analysed. The discovery of a lot of 130 copper coins, which were picked at one place at Kasarwad during the excavations of 1939-40, is therefore an interesting event. Kasarwad is a village situated in the Nemar district of Indore State, about 70 miles almost due south of Ujjayinī. It is six miles south of Maheshwar, ancient Māhashmatī, the capital of southern Avanti. Antiquities discovered at Kasarwad, like the relics of Stupa, show that it was a Buddhist site in the first century B.C. A piece of pottery was found inscribed with the legend *nigata vihāra = nirgantha vihāra* (?)[1] The coins found in the excavation were later sent to Indore Museum. They were cleansed and assorted there and are now being published in this *Journal.*

Out of 130 coins, 64 are too much blurred to be deciphered and described. They however seem to have belonged to most of the types that can be distinguished clearly on the remaining coins.

Kasarwad is about 70 miles almost due south of Ujjayinī, and it is therefore no wonder that the hoard should have predominently consisted of the so-called 'Ujjain' types. It is however natural that it should contain a few coins which appear to have been imported in the locality from outside. The most notable coin belonging to this category is a Magha coin (**Pl. VI, 18**), which must have travelled to Kasarwad, probably along with a pilgrim coming from Kauśāmbī to Ujjayinī. Unfortunately the coin is too blurred to permit the identification of the issuer, but the last letter *ma*, which formed part of the ending epithet *magha* is quite distinct. The first letter looks like a blurred *va* and it is quite possible that the issuer may have been Vijayamagha, whose coins have been published by one of us, *ante*, Vol. IV, p. 11, Pl. I, Nos.

1. No. 4955 of the Indore Museum Register.

12-13. Even if the personal name of the issuer may be in doubt, there can be no doubt that he belonged to the so-called Magha dynasty of Kauśāmbī, which ruled from *c.* 120 to 300 A. D.[1] For the type of the present coin is the same as that of the Magha coins; we have the bull on the reverse, and on the obverse there are rather indistinct traces of the ladder-like object below, above which we have the legend in a straight line, over which there is the well-known Tree within railing.

The discovery of this coin in the present hoard shows that Ujjayinī continued to have its old uninscribed coinage for several centuries. It no doubt started in the Mauryan period, if not earlier, and went on being issued in the different parts of the kingdom of Ujjayinī down at least to *c.* 250 A. D., which seems to be the probable date of Vijayamagha.[2] It is clear that the mint-masters of Ujjayinī were not much influenced by the foreign currency of the Indo-Greeks, Indo-Parthians, or the Indo-Scythians. The Sātavāhanas of the Deccan introduced inscribed currency in *c.* 200 B. C. Ujjayinī however continued its old tradition down to the 3rd century A. D., if not to a later date.

At the time when this hoard was buried, there is no doubt that Ujjayinī was under the rule of the Western Kshatrapas. The copper currency of the latter is known, but it is much less extensive than their silver currency and comes almost to a stop after *c.* 240 A. D. The Kasarwad hoard now enables us to understand this mystery of the relative paucity of the coinage of the Western Kshatrapas. It appears that these rulers did not long continue their experiment in copper currency, because in Malwa the old uninscribed copper types were extremely popular. Probably they did not think it worthwhile to take the trouble of issuing copper currency in small denominations. They seem to have authorised cities, corporations, shroffs or local authorities to continue the old and time-hallowed types.

Most of the coins in the Kasarwad hoard are square or rectangular in shape; very few of the indigenous coins are round. As will be presently shown, they belong to the Ujjayinī class rather than the Eran one. This circumstance will therefore show that the theory that the coins of Ujjayinī were round in shape as contrasted with those of Eran, which were rectangular or square, is not supported by the present hoard, whose provenance is definitely known. As Kasarwad is only about 70

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1. Majumdar and Altekar: *A new History of Indian People* Vol. VI, pp. 41-46.

2. *Ibid*: p. 46.

miles south of Ujjayinī, and 200 miles south-west of Eran, we naturally expect the coins to belong to the Ujjayinī types.

The hoard contains about 20 coins of a large size with several symbols on the obverse and usually the 'Ujjain' symbol on the reverse. They can be well compared with the known types from Eran and Ujjayinī. Like the uninscribed coins from Eran (Allan, *Catalogue*, XVIII, 11-23) these coins have on the obverse, a Horse, 'Ujjain' symbol and Tree within railing. But the triangle-headed banner, the elephant, the six-armed symbol, and a symbol closely resembling the sun are absent. The vast majority of the Eran coins published in *B.M.C.* are plain on the reverse; most of the coins of this hoard have the 'Ujjain' symbol there. On the majority of the Eran coins, the symbols have been punched successively and so overlap one another very often. Overlapping of symbols is however rare on the coins of the present hoard. On some of them all the symbols appear in deep incuse and seem to have been arranged on a die (**Pl. VI. 4-6**), which was impressed on the flan when the metal was in a semi-molten condition.

The larger rectangular coins which we are discussing here have more points of contact and similarity to the Ujjayinī coins of the same class. Many of the symbols of the present type are to be seen on Class I, variety a, of the Ujjayinī coins of the *B.M.C.* Tree within railing, 'Ujjain' symbol, River with fish, Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around, and Line of Taurine and *Svastikas* are common with the coins of this hoard and Class I, Var. a, referred to above. But these coins do not have Tank with fish and Cross with two additional lines to right which occur on the *B.M.C.* coins. Unlike the *B. M. C.* coins, which are round, these coins are rectangular in shape. On the other hand the Horse in the centre, which is the most characteristic feature of the present class, is absent on the Ujjayinī coins of the above class. They in fact supply quite a new class of Ujjayinī coins. We now proceed to describe them.

CLASS I, VAR. A

Metal, copper; size, rectangular, ·6″ × ·5″; weight, 108 grains.

Obverse; in the centre, (1) Horse walking to right; in front (2) Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around; above (3) the 'Ujjain' symbol; beyond it traces of (4) the line of *Svastikas* and taurines; behind the horse, (5) Tree in railing, under it (6) River with fishes.

Reverse; 'Ujjain' Symbol. **Pl. VI. 1**

CLASS I, VAR. B

Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, ·5″ × ·65″; weight, 65 grains.

Obverse; Symbols Nos. 1, 2, 5,, 6, above; Double circle with a handle, an incomplete symbol, Flag and Triskelis.

Reverse; 'Ujjain' symbol with one of its knobs replaced by the spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around: River with fishes below. Horse, Wheel and Sun are thus to be seen both on the obv. and rev. of this coin. **Pl. VI 2.**

CLASS I, VAR. C.

Metal, copper; size, roughly rectangular, ·7″ × ·6;″ weight, 85 grains.

Obverse; in the centre, Lion walking to right; all other symbols are the same as those on Class I, var. a, except that the spoked wheel, No. 2 above, is absent. The line of two taurines and one *Svastika* is very clear.

Reverse; 'Ujjain' symbol with *Svastikas* and taurines in the intervals between the knobs. **Pl. VI, 3.**

Var. D.

Metal: copper; size, roughly rectangular, ·75″ × ·6″; weight, 120 grains.

Same as above, but the symbols are all in deep incuse, impressed by one die.

Pl. VI. 4

CLASS I, VAR. E.

Metal, copper; size, roughly sqaure, ·7″; weight, 112 grains.

Obverse; Bull (?) walking right to the centre; other symbols as in var. d, but indistinct. They are all in a deep incuse. **Pl. VI. 5**

Metal, copper, size rectangular, ·5″ × ·8″; weight, 112 grains. Same as above

Pl. VI, 6

CLASS I, VAR. F.

Metal, copper; size roughly rectangular, ·9″ × ·75″; weight, 132 grains.

Obverse; in the centre, Bull walking to right, above Kārtikeya standing, with *śakti* in his hand; to his left, Tank with fish; behind the bull, Tree within railing; in its front traces of Spoked wheel surrounded by eight umbrellas. **Pl. VI. 7**

Reverse; 'Ujjain' symbol, with double circles.

The symbols on this coin have been much blurred.

CLASS I VAR. G.

Metal, copper ; size, roughly rectangular, ·7″ ·65″ ; weight, 112 grains.

This coin is damaged and all its symbols cannot be made out.

Tree within railing is rather small ; 'Ujjain' symbol is clear, but other symbols are damaged. **Pl. VI. 8**

Reverse : As in **Pl. VI, 3.**

The hoard contains three coins of *B. M. C.* Class I, var. i, (P. XXXVI, 10) having on the obverse Standing deity, Tree within railing, a symbol consisting of two Mauryan *yas*, one above the other. **(Pl. VI, 10)** Its weight is 46·3 grains. One of these coins has on the reverse Bull in addition to the 'Ujjain' symbol, which is rather rare **(Pl. VI, 11)** Its weight is 31 grains.

It contains only one round coin, exactly corresponding to *B. M. C.*, Class I, var. a. (Pl. XXXVI, 20). It has on the obverse Tree within railing, Taurine and *Svastika*, 'Ujjain' symbol, Tank with fish, Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas around, and a Mauryan *ka* with two additional horizontal lines on the right.

In the case of one coin there is only Branch of a tree and some other obscure symbol on the obverse **(Pl. VI, 9.)** and 'Ujjain' symbol on reverse. It weighs 70 grains.

The hoard contains two coins of the Class I, which appear to be cast from moulds. They are however too worn to be reproduced on the plate.

CLASS 2 : RECTANGULAR BUT SMALLER SIZE.

The coins of this class bear a general resemblance to *B. M. C.*, Class I, varied. Both are rectangular in size and have an animal on the obverse. The *B. M. C.* XXXVII, 17 has Sun above the Horse and Tree within railing on the left ; our coins however show some variations.

In one case there is the Spoked wheel with eight umbrellas above the horse to left and in its front there is the 'Ujjain' symbol **(Pl. VI. 12)**. Its weight is 24 grains. In another case the Horse is to right and there seems to be a human figure in its front and the Mauryan *yya* symbol above it ; **(Pl. VI. 13)**. Its weight is 30 grains. In the third case there seems to be Bull to left with no other symbols. **(Pl. VI. 14)**. Its weight is 17 grains only. I am unable to make the animal on the fourth coin of this class **(Pl. VI. 15)**. Its weight is 19 grains only. On the reverse of all these coins, there is the 'Ujjain' symbol of the simplest variety.

CLASS III: CAST COINS.

All the Ujjayinī and Eran coins so far published are die-struck. The present hoard contains 16 coins which are cast from moulds. Unfortunately most of them are too much worn out for their symbols to be identified. But most of them have the 'Ujjain' symbol on the reverse. The largest of them (**Pl. VI, 16**) weighs 53 grains. It seems to have had an animal in the centre as on **Pl. VI, 1-2.** On a coin of intermediate weight standard, weighing 31 grains, the 'Ujjain' symbol can be seen clearly on the obverse. On a third piece, which is only 8 grains in weight, we have a trident and possibly a human figure (**Pl, VI, 17**); they may be referring to the diety Mahākāla of Ujjayinī and his *āyudha* trident. One more coin of this type was found later at Kasarwad.

CLASS IV: SMALL DENOMINATIONS COINS.

The metrology of anceint Indian copper coinage has not yet been properly studied. Most of the catalogues generally publish coins of larger denominations only. It is only in the case of the Mālava coinage that we have coins of small denominations fully described to us.

The Yaudheya or Kushāna copper coins, weighing about 180 or 200 grains in weight, corresponded to the old heavy two pice coin. The purchasing power of each piece was equal to that of the four anna piece in 1930 and that of one rupee in 1947.

How then did the people carry on their daily transactions which required smaller currency corresponding to two anna, anna or pice pieces or lesser denominations? One answer to this question is supplied by the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hien, who describes how cowries were in extensive use in the bazars of the Gupta cities.

The present hoard however shows that in many localities the government, the cities or the corporations also issued copper currency of various denominations, including some of the smallest ones. If we analyse the weights of coins so far referred to in this paper, it will be seen that they belonged to various denominations. Thus No. 6 is 132 grains in weight, No. 4 120 grains, Nos. 5 and 7 112 grains, and No. 1, 108 grains. The weight of No. 3 is 85 grains and that of No. 9 is 70; No. 2 weighs 65 grains. The weights of Nos. 16, 18, 19, 20 and 21 vary from 50 to 55 grains. No. 15 weighs 15 grains, No. 13, 30 grains and No. 10, 46 grains. What weight system was followed is difficult to judge from this datum; many of the coins are very much worn and their original weights cannot be conjectured with certainty.

The hoard however is interesting as it contains some coins of very small weights. They are illustrated on **Pl. VI, 22-30.**

Their weights are as under :—

No. 22 weighs	10·5	grains.
No. 23 weighs	9·6	grains.
No. 24 weighs	7·7	grains.
No. 25 weighs	7·6	grains.
No. 26 weighs	6·5	grains.
No. 27 weighs	4·6	grains.
No. 28 weighs	4	grains.
No. 29 weighs	3	grains.
No. 30 weighs	3	grains.

Coins of such small denominations are known only in connection with a very few places in ancient India. They were issued by the Mālava republic at about the beginning of the Christian era, when its jurisdiction does not seem to have extended beyond the Udaipur state and Ajmer. The state of Avanti followed the same tradition and issued coins of small denomonations. Some of the coins of the Mālava republic are however even lighter than Nos. 29 and 30 which weigh only 3 grains. For some Mālava coins weigh as light as 2·6 and 1·7 grains only.[1]

The process of manufacturing copper coins of such light denominations must have been an exacting one ; it must have hardly paid the labour involved in the manufacture. Where therefore cowries were available, the state does not appear to have undertaken the trouble of manufacturing such small pieces.

The coins **Pl. VI, 22-30** however show that the state or the corporation concerned was not content merely by issuing small uninscribed or unstamped copper pieces in the case of the coins of these very small denominations. We find them stamped with the usual symbols comparatively reduced in size. In some cases the symbols are blurred owing to wear and tear, but in most cases they can be recognised. 'Ujjain' symbol can be recognised on the reverse of most of these pieces. On the obverse of **Pl. VI, 22, 24** we can see the Horse, which had figured on many of the larger coins of this hoard; see **Pl. I, 2. Pl. VI, 23,** has a Dotted circle, **Pl. VI, 25** the Six-armed symbol, **Pl. VI, 26** part of a Branch, **Pl. VI, 28** the Solar orb, and **Pl. VI, 30** the Crescented hill.

The hoard, though of copper coins, contains some which were imports into the locality. One such coin, which hailed from Kauśāmbī, and belonged to the Magha series, has been already described **(Pl. VI, 18)**. It weighs 55 grains. Among others worthy of note are five cast copper pieces, having

1. *I. M. C.*, I, p. 163.

Hollow cross, Tree within railing, Taurine and the Crescented hill on one side and Elephant before a triangle-headed banner above a ladder-like object on the other. They exactly correspond to the var. j of the uninscribed cast coins described in the *B. M. C.*, Pl. XI, 8. Nothing definite is known about the findspots of these coins. Mr. Allan therefore tentatively suggests that they were probably current in the United Provinces and Central India. As there are five coins of this type, but lighter in weight, in the present hoard, it is difficult to state whether they were issued locally or were imported from outside. If they were local, the present hoard will support Mr. Allan's view that they were probably current in Central India. If they were imported, we may well imagine that they came to Kasarwad with a pilgrim from Benares going to Ujjayinī on a pilgrimage ; for Cunningham ascribes the present type to Benares[1].

The hoard contained 10 punch-marked copper coins, one round and the rest rectangular. The round coin, which is ·5″ in diameter and 55 grains in weight, is a well preserved piece and has on the obverse, the Sun, the Branch, the Six-armed symbol, and a Bird, possibly a peacock perched upon a stick. On the reverse there are the Caduceus and the 'Ujjain' symbol **(Pl VI, 19)**. This seems to be an unpublished type. Most of the rectangular punch-marked coins have not been well preserved ; but they seem to have had the Sun, the Six-armed symbol, the Branch and some other indistinct symbols. In one case the Six-armed symbol is both on the obverse and the reverse, which is rather rare **(Pl. VI, 20)** ; the weight of this coins is 50 grains. The narrower punch-marked coins which weigh 53 grains and are ·5″ × ·25″ in size, have only two symbols, the Sun and the Six-armed symbol (See **Pl. VI, 21**); they could not accommodate more. The coins illustrated in the plate are about ·2″ in thickness.

1. *C. A. I.*, p. 60.

A COIN OF PRAKĀŚAŚIVA SEBAKA

By Principal V. V. Mirashi, Amaraoti.

The coin published here for the first time **(Pl. VII, 1)** is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus of Hyderabad (Deccan). In June last Mr. Kaus very kindly sent me excellent ink estampages of both the sides of this unique coin and supplied me information about its metal and weight. As desired by him, I publish the coin in this Journal. Mr. Kaus deserves the grateful thanks of all students of ancient Indian history for his readiness to publish such unique coins in his rich collection.

The provenance of the coin has not been recorded, but it seems to have been found somewhere in the Hyderabad State. The coin is of lead, round in shape, with a diameter of ·9″. It weighs 110 grains. It has on the obverse the figure of a horse facing left with the symbol[1] resembling Brāhmī *yya* above his back and a wheel in front of him. The existing legend which is plainly incomplete commences at vi and runs round the edge of the coin up to xii. The reverse shows, inside a double-border[2], a large arch probably representing a Stūpa, with a wavy line symbolising a river below. **Pl. VII, 1.**

The existing legend reads *kasasiva-Sebakasa.* It is clearly incomplete. I inquired of Mr. Kaus whether he had any other coins of this type and he sent me an impression of another (**Pl. VII, 2**), but it was without any legend. I therefore conjecturally restore the legend as *Pakasasiva-Sebakasa* for *Pakāsasiva-Sebakasa* (Sanskrit, *Prakāśaśiva-Sebakasya*[3]). This legend must have been preceded by the usual *raṁño*, but the letters have not come out on the present coin.

The characters are of about the middle of the third century A. D. Worthy of note are the forms of *k* with the lower end of the vertical turned to the left, *v* with a flat base and *s* with the right prong of its fork raised as high as the left. These characters, especially *k*, show that the coin belongs to the same age as those of Karṇa Sātakarṇi[4], a successor of Yajña Sātakarṇi.

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1. This symbol appears on the coins of Taxila, Mathura and Ujjain. See Allan, *Coins of Ancient India* (*B.M.C.*), pp. 169, 229-30, and 244. The lower part of the symbol has not come out well in the estampage; but what has come out of it leaves no doubt as to what it originally was.

2. The border is clearly visible on two sides, at the bottom and on the right side.

3. The first *akshara* of the name is conjecturally supplied; its correctness will have to be tested by future discoveries.

4. See Plate VIII, No. 27 illustrating my article on the Sātavāhana coins from Tarhālā. (*Ante.*, Vol. II, pp. 83 ff.)

If the legend restored above is correct, it would mean that the coin is of Prakāśaśiva-Sebaka'. The addition of *śiva* to the personal name of the king is noteworthy. In later times this became a distinctive sign of the name of the Śaiva ascetics, especially of the Mattamayūra sect. Prakāśaśiva-Sebaka was, as his name indicates, probably a descendant of the king Sebaka, whose coin I have recently published in this Journal[1]. The present coin shows that Sebaka, like Sātavāhana, was the progenitor of a royal family known after him. The rulers of this family used his name as a dynastic appellation. The coins of Sebaka and Prakāśaśiva differ from each other in shape, fabric and type. The coin of Sebaka published in this journal is nearly square, though rather irregular in shape; the execution of letters and symbols, though bold, is not very neat and the figure of the bull facing right is not well drawn. Prakāśaśiva's coin is far superior to it in all these respects. It is perfectly round in shape; the letters and symbols are beautifully formed and the horse facing left is drawn with vigour. I have placed Sebaka in the latter half of the third century B. C. on the ground of palæography and fabric of his coin. Prakāśaśiva, the fabric and characters of whose coin resemble those of the monetory issues of later Sātavāhanas, could not have flourished earlier than about the middle of the third century A. D.

Horse-type coins are known to have been issued by Yajña Sātakarṇi. On some of these the animal faces right and the symbol over its back is the crescent moon[2]. On some other coins of this king the horse faces left as here, but these coins show no symbol either over the back or in front of the animal[3]. Neither of these types is therefore exactly similar to that of the present coin. All these coins have the Ujjain symbol on their reverse. Some other coins listed by Rapson (e. g., Pl. V, G. P. 4 and No. 112) have, no doubt, the same device and symbols on their obverse as the present coin, but their legends are illegible. Again, the Ujjain symbol on the reverse of one of these shows that it was issued by a king of the Sātavāhana, and not of the Sebaka, dynasty. These coins are said to have been found in the Kṛishṇā and Godāvarī districts. Another coin with the obverse type exactly resembling that of the present coin was discovered at Koṇḍāpur and has been published by Mr. G. Yazdani in the plate illustrating his article on 'Excavations at Kondapur[4].' As the plate was not quite clear, I requested

1. *Ante*, Vol. VII, pp. 94 ff.
2. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc. (B. M. C.), Pl. VI, No. 148 and G. P. 6.
3. *Ibid.*, Pl. VII, No. 155, G. P. 1.
4. *A. B. O. R. I.*, Vol. XXII, Pl. XV, No. 15.

Mr. K. M. Ahmad, Director of Archæology, Hyderabad State, to supply me with a fresh photograph of that and any other horse-type coins he may have discovered ; and he very kindly sent me excellent photographs of three coins, one found at Koṇḍāpur and two at Panigiri.[1] The Koṇḍāpur coin **(Pl. VII, 3)**, it will be noticed, resembles our coin very closely, though unlike the latter, it is almost square in shape. Its reverse does not show any symbol, but curious as it might appear, it shows faint traces of two letters *ṇasa,* which may have formed part of a name like *sātakaṇasa*. There are traces of letters on the obverse also, below the feet of the horse which read *Sātakaṇi* [*sa*]. As the complete legend has not been preserved and as several members of the Sātavāhana dynasty had their names ending in *sātakarṇi,* it is difficult to identify this king with certainty, but he was probably one of the immediate successors of Yajña Sātakarṇi; for the latter is known to have issued horse-type coins similar to, though not exactly of the variety of, this coin. If this conjecture is correct, Prakāśaśiva who imitated this type may have flourished some time after Yajña Sātakarṇi. The characters of his coin also show that he must be referred to a slightly later age.

One of the coins found at Panigiri, which is produced here **(Pl. VII, 4)**, probably belonged to the same dynasty. It is square in shape and has on the obverse the figure of a horse facing left, with the same symbol over his back as on the present coin. The wheel in front of the animal has apparently been cut out. The reverse of this coin shows a similar semi-circular arch with this difference, viz., that it has some dots inside, probably representing the stones and bricks inside the Stūpa. There is a border of double line on the left and an indistinct taurine symbol to the right of the Stūpa. The obverse has remnants of a legend along the upper and right edge, but the *aksharas* are not completely legible. The last three of them appear clearly to be *-vakasa.* The *akshara* before *va,* which is not quite clear, may have been *se*. This coin seems therefore to have been minted by a king of the Sevaka dynasty which is plainly identical with the Sebaka dynasty mentioned above.

As stated before, the Sebakas imitated the monetory issues of the so-called Āndhra or Sātavāhana kings. As the dynasty was founded as early as the second half of the third century B.C., several of its members must have been contemporaneous with, and therefore feudatories of, the Sātavāhanas ; for their principality, which must have been situated somewhere in Central Deccan, must have been included in the Sātavāhana Empire.

1. I am indebeted to Mr. K. M. Ahmad for permission to publish these coins.

They probably declared their independence during the decline of the Sātavāhana power, in token of which they issued their own coinage. In course of time the dynasty came to be known as *Sevaka*, *v* and *b* being interchangeable. As these Sevakas were previously feudatories of the Sātavāhanas or Āndhras, they are mentioned in the Purāṇas as Āndhra-bhṛityas or 'Servants of the Āndhras.[1] The Purāṇas state that after the empire of the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas comes to an end, their servants who are further specified as Āndhras, Śrī-parvatīyas, Ābhīras and others, will rule the earth.[2] The Śri-parvatīyas were probably the Ikshvāku kings whose inscriptions have been discovered at Jaggayyapet and Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Andhras coupled with them may have been descendants of Sebaka. The Purāṇas tell us that they were seven in number and ruled for 52 years.[3] One of these was Prakāśaśiva· whose coin has been published here. Let us hope that the names of the other members of this dynasty will soon be revealed by future discoveries.

1. The Purāṇas distinguish between the Āndhras or Sātavāhanas and Āndhrabhṛityas or the feudatories of the Āndhras. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar identified the two families and took *Āndhrabhṛitya* to mean 'Āndhras who were once servants or dependants', signifying Simuka and his descendants. *Early History of thv Decean*, Section V. This does not appear to be correct. The Āndhrabhṛityas are mentioned after the Āndhra or Sātavāhana kings. They were therefore feudatories of the Āndhras.

2. See 'Āndhrāṇāṁ saṁsthite rājye teshām bhṛity-ānvayā nṛipāḥ | sapt=aiv=Āndhrā bhavishyanti daś=Ābhīraś tathā nṛipāḥ ||. Pargiter, *Dynastics of the Kali Age*, p. 45.

3. Cf. 'Āndhrāḥ Śrīparvatīyāś=cha te dvi-pañchāsataṁ samāḥ | *Ibid.*, p. 46.

A NEW SILVER COIN OF GAUTAMIPUTRA.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University

We have got a fairly extensive coinage of the kings of the Sātavāhana dynasty, but it is mostly in base metals like lead and copper. So far only one king of the dynasty, Gautamīputra Śri Yajña Sātakarṇi, is known to have issued coins in silver. They closely imitate the Kshatrapa type and supply us the only known portrait of a Sātavāhana ruler. Only four coins of this type have been known so far; three of them were published in Rapson's *Catalogue of the Coins of the Āndhra Dynasty in the British Museum*, Pl. VII and the 4th one was found among the coins of the Sarvania hoard, mostly consisting of Kshatrapa currency, and published and discussed by Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar in the *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India*, 1913-4 pp. 213-4.

The silver Sātavāhana coin that I am publishing today is the 5th known silver piece of the dynasty. It was purchased by me in August 1946 from a dealer in Mathurā, who stated that he had acquired it from Ujjayinī, which he had visited some months ago. This statement of his may well be trusted, for most of the coins that he showed me on this occasion were silver Kshatrapa coins, so common at Ujjayini.

I shall first describe the coin and then discuss the identification of the issuer.

Metal, silver ; size, ·7″ in diameter ; weight, 30 grains.

Obv. Six-arched hill with dots in each arch, on a platform below a wavy line ; Brāhmī inscription commencing from the top of the hill, *Raño Gotami...*

Rev. 'Ujjain' symbol with a pellet in each orb.

Pl. VII, 5

As unfortunately the legend is not fully accommodated and preserved on the coin, the identification of Gotamīputra, who issued this coin, will have to be determined by such other evidence and indications that may be available. The famous Gautamīputra Sātakarṇī is known to have wrested several provinces from Nahapāṇa, as is specifically stated in a record issued in his son's reign. Mālwā was one of the provinces annexed by the Sātavāhana conqueror and it is plausible to argue that the coins of the present type may have been issued by him to commemorate his achievement.

Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi however is not known to have issued any independent silver coinage of his own. He contented himself merely by recalling the currency of Nahapāṇa, whom he had overthrown, and restamping it with his own name and symbols. His legend on these coins reads *Raño Gotamīputasa* Sātakaṇisa, and as the present incomplete legend also begins with *Raño Gotami*, it may be argued that Gautamīputra not only restamped the currency of Nahapāṇa, but also issued his own independent silver currency bearing the same legend.

This conclusion however does not appear to be sound. The reverse symbol on the silver coins restamped by Gautamīputra is also a Hill with pellets in each arch; but it is three-arched and not six-arched, as is the case with the symbol on the reverse of the present coin. After analysing the data of the available coins, Rapson had come to the conclusion that the change from a three arched *chaitya* (hill) to a six-arched one probably took place in the reign of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇī (*Catalogue*, Introduction, pp. lxxii-lxxiii). The hill is surmounted by a crescent in some cases, but not in others.

The present coin as a matter of fact bears greatest resemblance to some of the known issues of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi found in Andhradeśa and illustrated in Rapson's *Catalogue*, Pl. VI, 139-146. On the obverse of these coins we have a six-arched hill surmounted by a crescent, as is the case with the present coin. The arches of the hill have a pellet in both cases, and the platform and the wavy line below are also common to both the types. The reverse of the present coin is 'Ujjain' symbol with a pellet in each orb, which also is the case with the published lead coins of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi of the present type. The size of the present coin is also the same as that of the coins of this ruler above referred to.

It therefore appears very probable that the present coin was also issued by the same ruler, and we may safely complete its legend as *Raño Gotami (putasa, Siri Yajña Sātakanisa)*.

There was a temporary revival of the Sātavāhana power towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. under the leadership of Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi. He succeeded in reconquering portions of Gujarat and Mālwā and annexing them to the Sātavāhana dominions. He signalised his success not only by issuing his silver portrait coins, but also by striking inscribed silver coins of the Āndhra-deśa type with a crescented six-arched Hill on the reverse.

Coins of both these types were intended for circulation in Gujarat and Malwa, where they have been found.

Yajña Śrī Sātakarṇi seems to have achieved his successes towards the end of his reign and his effete successors could not only not succeed in retaining the newly conquered provinces but also in maintaining the integrity of the home provinces of the Empire. This seems to be the reason for the extreme paucity of the silver coins of this ruler.

The present coin is thus a unique one, as no other silver coin of this type was so far known to have been issued either by Gautamīputra Śrī Yajña Sātakarṇi or by any of his predecessor or successor.

A RARE-GREEK COIN.

BY M.M. BISHVESHVAR NATH REU

Archæological Superintendent, Jodhpur.

This coin, the description and photograph of which is published here for the opinion of the numismatists, was obtained by me from a coin-dealer of Rawalpindi in May 1938.

This is a rare coin not found in any of the catalogues hitherto published in India.

This silver coin measures 5/16 of an inch (or about ·4 inch or 10 millimeters) in diameter and its weight is 24 grains (or 1·555 gramms).

On its obverse is the head of the king facing to the right and perhaps crowned with ivy; on its reverse is a cancer and under its short tail is some sort of support or a symbol of water, beneath which there was perhaps a legend which is no longer legible.

Pl. VII, 7 (natural size)
Pl. VII, 6 (enlarged size)

In my opinion this coin is of Alexander the Great, the famous king of Macedonia, who invaded India in 327 B. C.

The cancer on the reverse may possibly represent one of the 12 Zodiacal signs connected either with the birth of the king himself or some noteworthy event in his life

I hope that scholars will kindly examine the photograph of the coin and throw some more light on it and its inscription.

CHIEF EDITOR'S NOTE

M. M. Reu has done well in drawing attention of the numismatists to this rare and interesting piece. But it is very doubtful whether we can ascribe the piece to Alexander the Great. In his own lifetime he did not issue any coins bearing his own bust. Nor does the bust on the present coin show any marked resemblance to the bust of Alexander as given on the coins issued in his name after his death. The coin seems to belong to an early period when the obverse was still reserved for the representation of a deity. The crab which occurs on the reverse of this coin is known to occur on some coins issued by Acragus, after its resettlement by Timoleon. On one of its type we have a prancing horse to right on the obverse and a crab on the reverse, as on the reverse of the present coin. A

coin of this type has been illustrated in Vol. II of the Plates accompanying *Cambridge Ancient History* in the plate facing p. 8, numbered as h. This coin is slightly larger in size than the present piece and weighs 31 grains. I hope some numismatists who are specialists in ancient Greek coinage, will throw light on the present coin.

A COIN OF KAUŚIKĪPUTRA SĀTAKARṆI

By Principal V. V. Mirashi, Nagpur

This coin, published here for the first time (**Pl. VIII, A, 1**), is from the cabinet of Mr. Hurmuz Kaus, the well-known coin-collector and numismatist of Hyderabad (Deccan). I am thankful to Mr. Kaus for sending me its excellent impressions as well as information about its size and weight for publication in this *Journal*.

The coin is of copper, rectangular in shape, measuring ·80″ by ·60″. It weighs 65 grains. It has on its obverse the figure of an elephant facing right, with the trunk uplifted. There is a symbol consisting of two flattened rings cut by a vertical bar over the back of the elephant and traces of what may be a *svastika* in front of him. The legend given below begins at the lower left corner and runs round the animal. Some *aksharas* of it at the beginning and the end have evidently been cut off. Besides, two more *aksharas* which must have occurred over the trunk of the elephant are now illegible and one in the upper right corner is partially cut. The reverse shows the well-known Ujjain symbol, each orb of which has a pellet within a double circle and the same symbol of flattened rings cut by a vertical bar in the upper right and left corners between two orbs of the Ujjain symbol. Similar symbols in the lower corners have been cut off. It may be noted that the type is imitated from old coins of the Sātavāhana dynasty, such as that of the king Sātavāhana recently published in this *Journal*[1].

The existing portion of the legend on the obverse reads *Kosikipu*[*tasa*] *Sa*-. The *aksharas* in the brackets are now indistinct and have been restored conjecturally. The last *akshara sa* is again only partially seen. The characters are of about the second century A. D., slightly later than those of the inscriptions of the Sātavāhanas in the Nasik caves. The vertical bar of *k* is elongated in *ko*, but it is shortened in *ki*, evidently for want of space. *S* in *si* has a broadened shape, such as occurs in the inscriptions of the Kushāṇas. *P* in *pu* is angular, with both its verticals of the same length. There are very faint traces of what looks like *ta* after *pu*. The final *akshara*, though partially cut, resembles the second akshara *si* and is probably *sa* (or *sā*). The legend is thus ***Kosikiputasa Sa***-. At least two *aksharas* (*raṁño*) seem to have been lost in the

1. *Ante*, Vol. VII, pp. 1 f.

beginning and some more at the end of the existing legend. The language is Prakrit. The legend means '(This coin is) of (the king) Kauśikīputra Sa-'.

The elephant device on the obverse and the Ujjain symbol on the reverse indicate that the coin is probably of the Sātavāhana dynasty[1]. Large hoards of this type 'Elephant with uplifted trunk' on the obverse and Ujjain symbol on the reverse have been discovered in the Chāndā and Akolā districts of the Central Provinces and Berar,[2] but the coins in those hoards differ from this in certain respects. They are of potin and round in shape. Again, the elephant has trappings round his neck, and there is no symbol of flattened rings on the obverse and reverse as in this case. The provenance of the present coin has not been recorded, but it seems to have come from some part of the Central Deccan, as it bears unmistakable affinity to the coins of Sātavāhana found in the Aurangabad and Warangal districts of the Nizam's State.

Kauśikīputra was evidently a metronymic of the king, whose personal name has not come out completely on this coin. We know of the following metronymics of the Sātavāhana dynasty from their coins[3]—

1. Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi.
2. Vāsishṭhīputra Puḷumāvi.
3. Vāsishṭhīputra S'ivaśrī Sātakarṇi (?).
4. Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi.
5. Vāsishṭhīputra śri-Chaṇḍa Sāti.

Besides these, we know of a Vasishṭhīputra Sātakarṇi and Maṭharīputra S'akasena from the Purāṇas and Kānheri inscriptions[4]. Again, the coins found at Kolhapur mention three metronymics, *viz.*, Vāsishṭhīputra of Viḷivāyakura, Māḍhariputra of S'ivalakura and Gautamīputra of a second Viḷivāyakura[5], but it is doubtful whether these princes belonged to the Sātavāhana dynasty. The metronymics are supposed to be a characteristic of the coins found in the Andhradeśa, but they have also been noticed in the legend on the silver coins of Yajña Satakarṇi found in Kāṭhiāwāḍ[6] as well as in that stamped by Gautamī-

1. The type was copied later on by the Śaka successors of the Sātavāhanas. See my article entitled 'An Ancient Śaka Dynasty of Māhishmatī' *I. H. Q.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 34 f.
2. *Ante*, Vol. II. 83 f.
3. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc. (B. M. C.), pp. 20; 29; 31: 34. The coins of Vāsishṭhīputra Śiva-Śrī Sātakarṇi published by Rapson do not contain the name Sātakarṇi; they may therefore have been of Śivaśrī Puḷumāvi, whose coins were discovered in the Akolā hoard and who is mentioned by that name in the Purāṇas.
4. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 42; *A. S. W. I.*, Vol. V, p. 79.
5. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc., pp. 5 f.; *Ind. Ant.* Vol. XII, p. 273.
6. Rapson, *Coins of the Andhras* etc. p. 45

putra Sātakarṇi on the issues of Nahapāna current in Mahārāshṭra[1].

The metronymic Kauśikīputra is noticed for the first time on this coin. From inscriptions we know, of course, of several Kauśikīputras. One of them, Kauśikīputra Dhanadeva, belonged to the Śunga famiy and is known from a stone inscription found at Ayodhyā[2]. He is not likely to have struck this coin, for he ruled far away in the North[3]. Several Mahāraṭhis who bore this metronymic are known from inscriptions of the early centuries of the Christian era, found in Koṅkaṇ and Mahārāshṭra One of them, Mahāraṭhi Viṇhudata (Vishṇudatta) made a gift of a cistern near a cave at Bhājā[4]. Another, Mahāraṭhi Mitradeva of the Okhaḷakiyas, is mentioned in an inscription of his son Vāsishṭhīputra, a feudatory of Puḷumāvi, incised in a cave at Karle[5]. But neither of these Mahāraṭhis is likely to have struck this coin, for though the Sātavāhanas, in very rare cases, allowed their powerful feudatories to issue coins in their own names[6], there is no evidence to show that either of these Mahāraṭhis was so powerful. It is therefore very likely that the coin was struck by a king of the Sātavāhana dynasty, and if the reading of the last *akshara* is correct, he may have been one of the Sātakarṇis mentioned in the Purāṇas. The complete legend may, in that case, have been *Raṁño Kosikiputasa Sātakaṇisa* meaning '(This coin is) of Kauśikīputra Sātakarṇi'. The palæographic evidence detailed above shows that this Sātakarṇi was probably one of the later kings of the dynasty and may have been one of the successors of Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi. Several of them are known to have borne the name of Sātakarṇi and issued coins, viz., Skanda Sātakarṇi, Yajña Sātakarṇi, Vijaya Sātakarṇi, Chaṇḍa Sātakarṇi, Kumbha Sātakarṇi, Karṇa Sātakarṇi and S'aka S'ātakarṇi[7], but except in the case of Yajña, Chaṇḍa and S'aka[8], we do not know the names of their queen-mothers. Kauśikīputra may have been the metronymic of one of these later Sātakarṇis.

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1. *Ibid.*, pp. 68 f.
2. *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XX, p. 57.
3. This Dhanadeva may be identical with the homonymous king whose coins have been discovered at Ayodhyā. See, Allan., *Coins of Ancient India*, pp. 132-3.
4. Bhagwanlal Indraji and Burgess, *Inscriptions from the Cave Temples of Western India*, p. 24.
5. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp 61 f.
6. See my article 'A Coin of Sātakarṇi' *ante* Vol. VIII, pp. 19 f. in which I have shown that Kalalāya Mahārathi, who was a feudatroy of Sātakarṇi, issued coins in the joint names of himself and his suzerain.
7. *Ante*, Vol. II, pp. 89 f.
8. Yajña Sātakarṇi's mother was Gautamī, Chaṇḍa's Vāsishṭhī, and Śaka's Māṭharī.

SILVER PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL (BOMBAY PRESIDENCY).

By Parmeshwari Lal Gupta, Asst. Editor, Aj, Benares.

Introduction.

Mr. S. N. Chakravarti has published a paper on a hoard of 690 silver punch-marked coins[1], which was found in 1945 at the village Bahal in Chalisgaon Taluka of the East Khandesh district in Bombay Presidency.[2] This is the largest hoard of the punch-marked coins ever discovered in that province.[3]

The coins are of 'various shapes—square, rectangular, polygonal, round and oval' and have the group of five symbols on the obverse—four constant and the fifth varying'. Of the four constant symbols, two,—sun and the six-armed symbol—, occur on every coin. Mr. Chakravarti has grouped them on the basis of their fabric and size in three groups A, B and C. The group A comprises of 106 coins, which are thin and large, while the group C has 352 coins which are thick and small. The group B with 232 coins, forms a connecting link between A and C.[4] The coins of each group have been divided into different classes and sub-classes with reference to symbols on the obverse. Each coin class bears on the obverse a group of four constant symbols and the sub-class is formed by the fifth symbol. Out of the entire hoard only 216 coins,—84 in group A, 100 in group B and 30 in group C—,are classified in the said paper.[5]

Certain New Theories.

Mr. Chakravarti has suggested in his paper that these groups of the punch-marked coins, based on fabric and size represent denominations;[6] this view can hardly be accepted. Fortunately enough, he has recorded the weight of 12 coins of the hoard, four from each group in table 4 of his paper. The weight of these coins varies between 46½ to 51 grains.

1. This includes five fragmentary pieces. Of them 3 are halves cut from round coins, and the remaining two fragments fit nicely to form a complete square coin, which has been broken by design or accident into two pieces. *Ante, A.* Vol. VIII, p. 63.

2. *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol XX (n. s) pp. 83-87 : A new find of silver punch-marked coins from the Bombay Presidency.

3. *J. N. S. I.* Vol V p. 169.

4. *Op. Cit.* p. 83.

5. *Ibid* p. 85-87.

6. *Op. cit.* p. 84.

We wonder how one could suggest in the light of such a small and negligible difference that they represent various denominations. We do not know any instance in the history of the currency of the world where coins were issued, even if they were tokens, of various denominations, with so little a difference of weight. Moreover the weight of the coins of various denominations varies in some proportion in accordance with the value of the coins. Here the difference in the weight of the coins may easily be attributed to the wearage in the use. In a number of hoards the coins having the same symbol group have been found varying in weight according to the condition of the coins. For example, the coins of class II, group IX var. b of Patraha hoard vary in weight between 46·6 to 53 grains[1] having the difference of 5·4 grains, which is much more than the difference shown above. Can this difference be attributed to a difference in denomination? Certainly not. The coins which were more in currency look much worn and are lesser in weight than those which look less worn or look like fresh. The coins of the present hoard are of one denomination, which is of 32 *rattis* standard.

Mr. Chakravarti, presenting the above utterly untenable theory, refutes the idea that fabric and size had any relation with the periods of their currency[2]. We do not know if any scholars have so far accepted the fabric and size as the scientific basis of the classification of the coins; nevertheless they did suggest them as broad basis of distinction between the two periods. Cunningham says, 'The earlier coins are generally thin and broad and of irregular shape. Some are oblong and some are nearly round[3]. Mr. Durga Prasad says, 'The coins of earlier period are broader and thinner, of irregular shape with round corners, of a different standard of weight and impressed with a group of 4 crudely designed symbols[4]. But we are not here concerned with these suggestions as they refer to the coins of four symbols. The coins of five symbols, according to Durga Prasad, are of comparatively later period (middle and later or Mauryan). Regarding them he says, 'They are more geometrical in shape, being circular, elliptical, oblong and square, with clear corners, clipped or unclipped, thicker and smaller'[5]. Mr. Walsh says that the punch-marked coins of the small square thick type are of a later period than the larger thin type .

1. *M.A.S.I.* No. 62: *A hoard of silver punch-marked coins from Purnea*, p. 41-42.
2. *Op. cit.* p. 84.
3. *C. C. A. I.* p. 43.
4. *J. A. S. B. Num. Supl.* No. XLVII: Observations on different types of silver Punch-marked coins, their period and locale; p. 51.
5. *Ibid.* p. 51.
6. *M. A. S. I.* No. 59: *Punch-marked coins from Taxila*, p. 31.

In 1924 a hoard of 1171 silver Punch-marked coins was found in the Bhir mound at Taxila. Of them 33 are long bar coins, 79 are minute coins and the rest are thin and large and bear on the obverse five symbols, of which two are always the sun and the six-armed symbol and are square, rectangular, polygonal, round and oval in shape[1]. They correspond with the coins of the groups A and B of the present find. Along with that hoard were found two gold coins of Alexander the Great and one of Philip Aredaeus. These coins fix the date of the deposit at about 317 B.C. and it implies that the coins of the varieties, fabric, size and shape of the coins of that hoard were current at that period. It can safely be said with the aid of that hoard, that the coins of the group A and B of the present hoard were in currency as early as 317 B.C.

Another hoard of 157 silver punch-marked coins was found from the same site in 1912, which were small, square and thick[2]. They correspond to the coins of group C of the present hoard. Along with the coins of that hoard was found a gold coin of Diodotus, which fixes the date of the deposit as early as 248 B.C. and the coins of the hoard may be taken to be in currency in that period.

But Mr. Chakravarti objects to these conclusions and says that 'the absence of the small thick coins in Bhir mound larger find would not imply that they were not in circulation at the time of the deposit of the find[3]. Further he says that it would not be correct to account for the absence of the thin large coins in Bhir mound smaller find by saying that they were out of circulation and were no longer issued then'[4]. Apparently the contention looks sound but in view of the evidence available, it is not tenable.

There is clear evidence to show that the small thick coins were not in circulation, when the larger Bhir mound hoard was deposited near about 317 B. C. It is admitted that the hoard was deposited at such a date which may be called as pre-Mauryan and that the smaller hoard at such a period which was Mauryan. There is also the undenying fact that most of the coins of the smaller hoard have 'crescent on the hill' mark as one of their obverse symbols; and that this symbol was the imperial mark of the Mauryan kings has been established beyond doubt on substantial grounds by late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal[5]. The coins having 'crescent on the hill' symbol on the obverse are, as such, undoubtedly the coins of the Mauryan

1. *Ibid* p. 1.
2. *Ibid* p. 81.
3. *Op. cit.* p. 84.
4. *Ibid.* p. 84.
5. *J. B. A. S.* (July 1936), p. 489

period. Then how could they be found in a hoard deposited earlier ?

It is true that the absence of thin large coins in the smaller find of the Bhir Mound cannot be ascribed to their being out of circulation at the time of deposit of the hoard, as the present hoard and a number of other hoards contain both the varieties of the coins and show that they were simultaneously in circulation. And this fact has never been denied by Mr. Walsh or any other scholar. But at the same time the absence of the earlier coins in the hoard of later coins, when both were simultaneously in currency, is not improbable, though it looks somewhat very strange. In the excavations at Rairh in Jaipur State in 1938-39, three hoards of punch-marked coins—1933, 535 and 132 in number—were found within the area of 30 feet and at 17.34; 17.14 and 16.35 feet, respectively, above the datum line. All the three hoards were deposited in the Mauryan period and probably at very short intervals ; but while the first two hoards consist of both the varieties of the coins, the third hoard has only the coins with 'crescent on the hill' symbol, thick and small,[1] which are undoubtedly later.

With all these facts, there is hardly any doubt that the fabric, size and shape have something to do with the period of currency of the coins, though uptil now no systematic approach has been made in this direction.

Mr. Chakravarti makes another suggestion. It concerns with the obverse symbols on the punch-marked coins. Of the four constant symbols, he thinks, the common symbols on all the coins probably have religious significance; of the other two symbols, one may be of locality, where it was struck and the other of the mint-master. Fifth may be of the authorities issuing the coinage.[2] In this respect, Mr. Walsh's suggestion is that, 'One mark may represent the state, one the king or local government, one the place where the coin was struck and perhaps one religious mark, recognizing the presiding deity; also the master of mint may have had his mark, which would fix his responsibility for the coin, and the additional varying marks may have been those of the *saṅghas*, village communities or *janapadas* or *nigamas* in which the coin was current.[3] Mr. Durga Prasad, keeping silence about the two common or constant symbols, expresses his views that the variation of the third symbol is for the king, the remaining two for the change of years and places most probably.[4] Likewise other scholars may have their own views about the symbols on the obverse of

1. K. N. Puri : *Excavations at Rairh* P. 12 ; pl. XXVII—XXIX
2. *Op. Cit.* p 84.
3. *Op, cit.* p. 5.
4. *Op. cit.* p. 80.

the coins, but it is clear that all these suggestions are mere conjectures and have nothing substantial in their support. So far no genuine effort has been made to interpret the significance of the symbols on the coins. No useful purpose could be served by simply repeating the oft quoted passage from the *visuddhi-magga*, unless a proper, systematic and scientific classification of the symbols and symbol groups is presented after the critical study of the maximum number of hoards available.

STUDY OF THE COINS

Now let us come to the study of the coins of the present hoard. Out of 690 coins only 218 coins are classified by Mr. Chakravarti in his paper. He has given no reason for excluding more than two-third (472 coins) from the classification. In the absence of their classification, we are unable to know if they had any interesting coins[1]. To me it appears that all those coins were probably so worn that either they might have become plain or that they had very indistinct traces of the marks or that only one or two marks could be identified on them[2]. This might have led Mr. Chakravarti to exclude them from classification. Nevertheless, if it was so, he should have mentioned these facts. If our conjecture is corect, we would like to point out that while 84 out of 106 coins of group A and 100 coins out of 232 of group B are classified, only 30 coins out of 352 coins of group C have found place in the classification. It shows that most of the coins of thick and small type were badly worn. This case is not peculiar to the present hoard; it holds good of some other hoard as well. In a hoard of 332 coins from Lalganj Tahsil (Azamgarh, U. P.), which is in my collection, 71 coins are so worn that either they have become plain or only indistinct traces of marks are visible on them; on 30 coins one mark and that mostly of sun could be identified; on 48 coins two marks could be identified. And mostly all these coins are of small and thick variety, while none of the coins of thin and larger variety in the hoard has less than three identifiable marks. In another hoard from U. P. (Treasure trove no 28 of 1916) now deposited in Lucknow Museum, out of 41 later coins only 13 are sufficiently clear for all the five marks to be deciphered[3]. These facts shed an interesting light on the metallurgy of the coins and lead us to conclude that the metal of the earlier—thin and larger—coins was hard and could sustain the long currency, while the metal of the later thick and small coins was soft and could

1. Recently Prof. D.D. Kosambi has published 4 interesting coins from these unclassified coins, *Antc* Vol VII, p. 64-65.

2. Since then, Prof. D. D. Kosambi has examined and reclassified the hoard; he found only 73 coins as too battered for proper classification. *Ibid* 63.

3. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol III, p. 2

not bear a long circulation. Chemical analysis of the metal of the coins should be made to verify this conclusion.

IDENTIFICATION OF SYMBOLS.

As regards the identification of the obverse symbols we wish to point out that in most of the cases only a portion of any mark appears on the punch-marked coins and in such cases, when the complete mark does not appear on any of the coins, it has to be determined from the different portions of the mark found on separate coins. But even then occasions arise, where the complete mark could not be determined with certainty on the coins of the same hoard. In such cases comparative study of other hoards often proves useful. But it seems to me that in the study of the present hoard, Mr. Chakravarti relied entirely on the coins of this hoard alone and sometimes on single coins only. His paper shows that he could not identify several marks completely or accurately. Sometimes he has misidentified the symbols. Symbols 10, 11, 12, 17, 19, 20, 22, 25, 30 37, 40, 42, and 46 are inaccurately or imcompletely identified by Mr. Chakravarti on the present coins.[1] The accurate symbols on these coins are illustrated on **Pl. IX** and the references to the similar symbols in various other hoards are given in Appendix B accompanying this paper. In the case of symbol No. 37, Mr. Chakravarti has confused two symbols as one. One is symbol 42 as corrected on our plate and the other consists of the symbols, which have been replaced for the present symbol on the plate.

Often it is not easy to distinguish between the two varieties of a symbol or between two different symbols, unless one is very conversant with the distinctions of the symbols. The confusion mostly happens in the case of the six-armed symbols. In such cases, the fact is often ignored by the scholars, that every symbol has its own group of symbols, i. e. particular symbols are to be found only with a particular type of six-armed symbol, or a particular six-armed symbol is found only with a group of particular symbols. In his study Mr. Chakravarti could not distinguish five undescribed varieties of the six-armed symbol from those he has described and the other variety of the symbols 7 and 46. So the coins having these symbols have been attributed by him to one or the other varieties of these symbols. Such seven undescribed symbols are illustrated on **Pl. IX** as 1i, 1j, 1k, 1l, 1m, 7a and 46a and the references to these symbols in other hoards are given in the Appendix B.

1. Prof. DfD. Kosambi has noticed inaccuracies in symbols 10, 12, 30 and 37. *Ante* Vol. VIII, p. 64.

In his table 3 Mr. Chakravarti has described a symbol 13a on a coin of class VIII in group C, but it is not illustrated on plate I of his paper. We believe the symbol is the same as we have illustrated on **Pl. IX** as 13a and described in the Appendix B.

Of the illustrated symbols on plate I of Mr. Chakravarti's paper, symbol 50 is a doubtful symbol. It is probably an incomplete or a misidentified symbol. (See Appendix A, table 3, Var. 44).

Symbols 1c, 5 and 41 should be omitted for the following reasons :—

1c is the same symbol as symbol 1a. It is rather strange how one could imagine of an eight-armed symbol, when the symbol of six arms only is known on the punch-marked coins. The coins to which it is attributed are of the same variety, to which symbol 1a is ascribed.

Symbol 5 is illustrated on plate I of Mr. Chakravarti's paper, but it is not attributed by him to any variety of the coins in the present hoard. It is the same symbol as symbol 42 as corrected on **Pl. IX**.

Symbol 41 is the lower part of the well-known symbol having bull at the top, which it seems is not punched on the coin. Other symbols on the coin help in correctly identifying the mark.

Of the remaining symbols 21, 32 and 35 are new symbols, if they are properly identified. Without the examination of the coins nothing more definite could be said about these symbols. As regards symbol 35, I have some doubt. It may be part of the well-known symbol, which is the same as **Pl. IX, 51**.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE COINS.

Apart from the inaccurate or wrong identification of symbols, Mr. Chakravarti's classification of coins, as far as the division of classes and sub-classes is concerned, is quite satisfactory and needs no comment. But as his classification is primarily based on groups, grouped on the basis of fabric and size, a number of coins, having the same symbol-group on the obverse, are grouped in more than one group, which is confusing. The coins having the same symbol groups on the obverse are of one and the same variety in spite of the difference in fabric and size.

Here I have tabulated the varieties in Appendix A under four tables. In Table 1, those varieties of coins are classified
6 which are properly identified with their obverse marks and are

well-known from other hoards. In Table 2 are grouped those varieties which are well-know from other hoards, but Mr. Chakravarti has erred in identifying some of the symbols. These varieties have some other symbols than those as identified on them. In Table 3 are given those varieties, which may be known varieties, but the identification of their symbols is so inaccurate that they could not be properly classified unless they are re-examined. Table 4 contains those verieties, which are new, i. e. are not known from any other hoards, so far published. But their classification as new only holds good, if the symbols are correctly identified.

REVERSE SYMBOLS

Mr. Chakravarti has not attached any importance to the symbols on the reverse. He has made no reference to them in the paper, but has contented himself with a general remark of one sentence only. But for this, he is not to be blamed alone. The reverse symbols did not have the due share of attention from any of the scholars interested in this topic of the Indian numismatics. No attempt has yet been made for their proper classification, except recognizing the fact that they have some relation, whatever that may be, with the symbols on the obverse.

CONCLUSION

The present study is presented without a study of the original coins or their photographs. It is based merely on a critical examination of the facts presented by Mr. Chakravarti in the light of the knowledge attained from other sources. But I hope that my observations and conclusions are to a great extent accurate. In the interest of the furtherance of the study of the subject, the coins should be re-examined in the light suggested herein, and every coin of the hoard be classified and the weight, obverse and reverse symbols should be properly and accurately recorded; they should be published in a monograph with the illustrations of the coins. May I hope that the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, with which the hoard is deposited, will take early steps to publish such an exhaustive study ?

APPENDIX A

CLASSIFICATION OF THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL.

TABLE I.

Properly Classified Varieties.

NOTE:—The symbol number printed in bold indicate that it was inaccurately or partly identified by Mr. Chakravarti on the coins. The correct symbol is as illustrated on **Pl. IX** accompanying this paper and not as illustrated by him on the plate accompanying his paper.

Serial No.	Class			Symbols	References from other hoards			
	Group A	Group B	Group C		B.M.C.	D.P.	Walsh	Bhatta-charya
1	I, 1	I, 1	IX[1]	1f, 2, 6, 3, 7a,	VI, IVa	29A13	A2	iii,ivj
2	I, 2	I, 2	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 8	VI, IIIc	29A2	A1	iii,ivb
3	I, 3	I, 3	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 12	...	29A6	A3	iii,iva
4	I, 4	I, 5	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 14	..	29A 10	A13	...
5	I, 5	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 15	VI, IIIe	29A3	A8	iii,ivk
6	I, 6	I, 6	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 18	VI, IIId	29A12	A7	iii,ivd
7	I, 7	I, 7	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, **20**	...	...	A6	iii,ivl
8	I, 8	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 26	VI, IIIf	29A4	A5	iii,ivf
9	I, 9	I, 8	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, **19**	...	29A5	A4	iii,ivh
10	I, 11	...	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, 34	...	...	...	iii,ivg
11	...	I, 4	...	1f, 2, 6, 3, **22**	...	29A7	A9	iii,ivb
12	IV	...	...	1f, 2,6,36,7a[2]	VI, IVb	29B3	A19	iii,va
13	...	VII, 2	...	1f, 2,6,**25**,7a[2]	VI, IVf	29B2	A28	iii,via
14	VII	...	...	1d, 2, 6, **17**,8[3]	...	...		...
15	II, 1	II, 2	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, 8	VI, IIe	25A1	C1	iii,iib
16	II, 3	...	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, **20**	...	...	C4	...
17	II, 5	...	...	1f, 2, 4, 16,33a	...	...	C5	...
18	...	II, 3	...	1f, 2, 4, 16, 18	...	...	C3	...
19	III, 1	IV	...	1d, 2, 11, 16, 8	VI, Ih	2A1	J1	...
20	III, 2	...	...	1d, 2, 11, 16,33	VI, Ij	...	J2	iii,iig
21	V	...	...	1b, 2, **37**,38,18	VI, Id	6B2	M2	iii, ic
22	V, 12	...	...	1e, 2, 27, 7, 24	II, IIIf	...	...	...
23	...	V, 12	...	1e, 2, 27, 7, 47	II, IVb	...	...	ii, ivj
24	...	...	III	1g, 2, 44, **19**,43	II, Vc	24A1	...	ii, xh
25	...	...	I	1a, 2, 28, 7, 29	II, IXa	31A1	...	ii, vj
26	...	...	X	1h, 2, 48, 7, 49	II, IVq	30A1	...	ii, v, i

1. Coin of Var. 1 grouped as IX in class C is assigned with symbol 1a by Mr. Chakravarti, but no coin with this symbol is known any where. It seems to be a wrong identification for 1f. But it is more likely that it may not belong to this class at all, as its fabric suggests.

2. These coins are assigned with mark 7 but actually they have mark 7a, a variety of the same mark.

3. See Puri's *Excavations at Rairh*, pl. XXIV coin 41 ; pl. XXXIV, Var 8.

TABLE 2.

Known varieties, but attributed with wrong symbols.

Following varieties have been attributed by Mr. Chakravarti as having symbols, other than those known on them from the coins of other hoards. Such wrongly attributed marks are printed in bold in the column of the symbols. Some of the symbols on these coins are inaccurately or partly identified. They are indicated here with italics. Correct symbols are illustated on **Pl. IX.**

St. No.	Class			Symbols		References				Remarks
	Group A	Group B	Group C	As assigned	Correct	BMC.	D. P.	WALSH	Bhatta-charya	
27	VIII	...	...	1f,2,**41**,16,3	1f,2,4,16,8	VI.IIe	25A1	C1	III.IIb	Same as 15
28	VI	...	...	1d.2,39,*40*,8	1h,2,39,40,8	...	...	Q4b Coins 778, 906A		
29	IA	III	...	1e,2,9,*42*,8	1i,*2*,9,42,8	II,VIIi	39B1	B(e)1	II,XIh	
30	..	III2	VII2	1e,2.9.*42*,23	1i,2,9,41,23	II,VIIj	39B2	...	II.XIb.	
31	...	...	VII1	1e,2,9.*42*,7	1i.2,9,42,7	II,VIIh	39B6	...	II,XIc	
22	...	IX2	...	1e 2,9,*42*,13	1i,2,9,42,13	II,VIb	39B3	B(e)2	II,XIf	
33	...	...	IV2	1e,2,9,**37**,23	1i,2,9,42.7	II,VIIj	36K2	...	II XIb	Same as 30
34	...	..	IV1	1e,2.27,**37**,23	1e,2,27,42,23	...	40H1	...	II,XIa	
35	...	...	II2	1g,2,27,19,43	1e.2,27,19,43	II,Vb.	40C1	...	II,Xb	
36	...	VIII	...	1c,2,28,7, 9	1a,2,28,7,29	II,IXi	31A1	...	II,Vj	Same as 25
37	...	...	VI1	1e,2,48,7,47	1j,2,46,7.475	II,IVc	32A3			
38	...	...	V	1,2,45,*46*,16	1k,45,46,15	II,IXb	...	...	II,VId	
39	...	XI	III	1,2,*30*,31,13	11,2,30,31,1,	II,Xb	22A2	...	II,XIf	
40	...	...	VIII	1a,2,*10*,*13a*.	1m,2,10,13a	...	36A2	...	II,VIIb	
				46	46					

TABLE 3

Varieties with doubtful assignment of symbols.

Serial No.	Class	Symbols	Remarks.
41	A.I. 10	1f, 2,6,3,35	The coin belongs to the class represented by series 1-11 in this hoard. The fifth mark as deciphered by Mr. Chakravarti is not seen on any of the coins of this series or any other series in any known hoard. This mark surrounded by a hollow cross (fig. 51) forms a fifth mark on a number of coins of this series. It is very likely that the coin is of the same variety as is D.P. 29 A 11/1; Bhattacharya iii. iiic; Puri Pl. XXII coin 38, and here the mark is partly identified. But if the mark is correctly identified, then the coin represents a new variety.
2	B.VI. 1	1e, 2,27,7,8	The coin belongs to the well known series represented in the present hoard with var. 22 and 23, but the fifth mark i.e. symbol 8 (elephant) is not known in the series, except in the sub-class having symbol 42 as the fourth mark (D. P.: 40H3). On the coins having symbol 7 as the fourth mark, the elephant is seen as the part of a complex symbol, illustrated here on plate IX (fig. 52). It is very likely that the coin is of the same variety as is Bhattacharya i. iv.h and the mark is identified in its incomplete form. But if the mark is correctly identified as symbol 8, then the coin represents a new variety.
43	B.IX.1	1e,2.13,42,7	Of the five marks, the symbol 42 is identified on the coin incomplete. It should be as shown on the accompanying plate. Of the remaining marks symbol 13 and 7 are the fifth marks and they never occur on one and the same coin. So the identification of atleast one mark is incorrect. On the present coin I think some other mark has been mistaken as

Serial No.	Class	Symbols	Remarks
			symbol 7. The coin may be of the variety 31 of the present hoard or 40E7 of D. P. If the coin belongs to the former class then the mark identified as symbol 7 is symbol 9 and symbol 1e is 1i. But if it is of the later variety then the mark identified as symbol 7 is symbol 27 and mark 1e is correct.
44	C. V	1d, 2,6,8,26	Symbols 8 and 26 are the fifth marks. They cannot occur on one and the same coin. So one of them is erred for some fourth mark. Here we think mark 8 has been mistaken for mark 3. Hinder portion of both the marks are alike. The coin is most likely of variety 8 of the present hoard.
45	C.VIII	1f, 2,6,7,12	Symbol 7 and 12 are the fifth marks. They cannot occur on one and the same coin. So one of them is mistaken for some fourth mark, but which one is wrongly identified cannot be suggested off hand in the present case.
46	C. XI	1e, 2,50,x,15	Only four marks of the coins are identified. Mark 50 as identified by Mr. Chakravarti is not seen on any coin in any hoard. Probably it is an incomplete or misidentified symbol. If the identification of 1e is correct, then symbol 50 is misidentified for symbol 27 and the coin belongs to 40A1 or 40G7 of D. P. the two varieties of the two sub-classes having different fourth symbols. It is also probable that the symbol 50 might have been misidentified for symbol 9. In that case symbol 1e will be 1i.

TABLE 4.

New Varieties of the coins, not known from any other source.

Serial No	Class	Symbols	Remarks.
47	A.I.12	1d,2,6,3,33a	The coin belongs to a well known series, which is represented in the hoards with series 1-11, but it has a different first and new fifth mark. Coins having 1f and 33 as first and fifth mark are known from Walsh (A12a), but with 1d and 33a is not known so far. Coins with 1d is known in this series (Walsh A31 ; Puri: Pl. XXXIX, coin 8) but they have symbol 17 and elephant (symbol 8) as fourth and fifth marks. Probably this coin is another variety of the same with another variety of the fig. 17 as fig. 53. But if 33a is correctly identified, even then it is a new variety.
48	A.II.2	1f,2,4,16,14	The coin belongs to the class represented by series 15-18 in this hoard. Mark 14 is so far seen only on var. 4 of this hoard which is same as 29A10 of D.P. and A10 of Walsh. It is seen for the first time on the coins of this class. So the coin represents an entirely new variety.
49	A.II.4 B.II.4	1f,2,4,16,21	The coin belongs to above class with a new fifth mark 21, which is not known on any coin of this or any other class of any hoard. If the mark is correctly identified, then the variety is new.
50	B.II.1	1f,2,4,16,7	The coin belongs to above class and the fifth mark 7 is a well known symbol, which is seen for the first time in this series. It is atributed to one coin If the identification is correct, it adds a new variety to the series.
51	B.X	1f,2,32,3,8	Mark 32 on the coin is entirely new and represents the class mark, as the other two marks, besides the two constant marks, are the well known fourth and fifth marks. If the identification is correct or the symbol is complete, then it suggests altegether a new class of coins which are hitherto unknown.

APPENDIX B.

OBVERSE MARKS ON THE PUNCH-MARKED COINS FROM BAHAL.

Italicised figures in column 1 show the symbols, which were inaccurately or partly identified on the coins, by Mr. Chakravarti. The Bold figures indicate the symbols that were not identified and described by him. The symbol marked with asterisk has doubtful identification. In the last are those marks, which are refered as probable symbols on the coins, noted against them.

Symbols	Seen on varieties	References D.P.	References Walsh	References Bhatt	Remarks
1a	25	21		2d	Was also attributed to Var. 1 (group C class IX) and 40. For Var. 1 see App. A, Tab. B. It has 1f. Var. 40 has undiscribed symbol 1m.
1b	21	4		2a1	
1c	...	...	...	...	Omitted Same as 1a.
1d	14,19,20,41,46	2	1f	2b	Was also attributed to Var. 28, which has sym. 1h.
1e	22,23,25,37,44,51	28		2	Was also attributed to var. 29-34 and 43, which have undescribbed sym. 1i. Var. 35 was attributed with var. 1g.
1f	1-13,15-18,27,42,45	20	1a	2a	
1g	24	19		2c	Was also attributed to var. 35, which has sym. 1e.
1h	26,28	11	1c	2i	Var. 28 was attributed with symbol 1d.
1i	29-34		1u	2o	This mark is often mistaken as 1e. For detailed discussion see *J.N.S.I.* Vol. IV p. 109, § 35.

Symbols	Seen on varieties	References D. P.	References Walsh	References Bhatta	Remarks
1j	37	22		2f1	Var. 37 was wrongly attributed with sym. 1e
1k	38			2k	Proper variety was not identified
1l	39	17		2q	do
1m	40	26		2m	Var. 40 was wrongly attributed with sym. 1a.
2	1-51	1	2	1	
3	1-11,19,45-47	32	3	36	
4	15-18,48-50	32e	3b	12	
5	...				Omitted ; seen on no coin.
6	1-14,41,42,45 46	33	4	11	
7	22,23,25,26, 32,36,51	111a		86	
7*a*	1,12,13	111	6	87	Was mistaken on the var. as sym. 7
8	2,14,15,19,27 28,41,47,51	29	7	42	
9	29-33	44	9a	89	
10	40	40		7	
11	19,20	39	11a	9	
12	3,45	68	13	23	
13	31,39,43	75a	15a	27	
13a	40	72a		14	Identified other than symbol 13 on class VIII group C but was not illustrated in Mr. Chakravarti's plate.
14	4,48	109	19e		
15	5,38,44	101	20a	67	
16	15-20,27,48,50	99	21	66	
17	14	...	24a	62	'This symbol is described by Walsh and Bhattacharya as 22a and 106 respectively, but both have given incomplete mark. It is seen in its complete form on coin 41, XXIV of Puri's *Excavations at Rairh.*

Symbol	Seen on varities	References			Remarks
		D. P.	Walsh.	Bhatta	
18	6,18,21	92			
19	9,24,25	59	8a	124	
20	7,16		41	74	
21	49				New ; not seen elsewhere.
22	12		18a	18	
23	30,33,34	86		88	
24	22				
25	13		4g	80	
26	8,44	124	42a	110	
27	22,23,34,25,42	43		3	
28	25,36	115		90	
29	25,36	113a		109	
30	39			64	
31	39	57		130	
32	47				New.
33	20		43a	21	
33a	17,47			20	
34	10			78	
35	41				New.
36	12	54	35	134	
37	21	46	34	35	Was also attributed to var. 33, 34, but they have sym. 42 as corrected.
38	21	60	38	123	
39	28	58	48	126	
40	28		46	65	
41	...				Omitted ; part of sym. 4.
42	29-32, 43	48	44	57	
43	24,35			32	
44	24	108		70	
45	38	96		63	
46	38	32c		39	
46a	40	32d			
47	23,37	49		34	
48	26,37	66b		29	
49	26	104		68	
*50	44				doubtful ; incomplete.
51					Probably on Var. 41.
52					Probably on Var. 42.
53					Probably on Var. 47.

"HREZI" ON A COIN OF HORMAZD I OR II

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In a very interesting paper entitled "Observations on Five Sāsānian Coins", *above*, Vol I, pp. 58-71, Mr. Furdoonjee D. J. Paruck refers to a drachm which he originally attributed (cf. *Revue Archéologique*, 1930, p. 234 ff.) to the Sāsānian emperor Hormazd II (303-10 A.D.), but was later inclined, after further study, to assign to Hormazd I (272-73 A. D.). In the legend of the coin in question Mr. Paruck reads the names of three territories forming parts of the Sāsānian empire as Inde, Iradatē and Harezi, which he identifies respectively with Sindh, Mūltān and Rājputānā. Whatever, however, be the value of the reading and interpretation of the words *Inde* and *Iradatī*, there is absolutely no doubt that the suggestion regarding the third word is wrong. Mr. Paruck says, "The reading of the word in the second line on the upper part of the reverse remained for a long time completely illusive, but now I am able to propose the reading HREZI. According to all the early Arab geographers, the old name of Rājputānā was Haraz. It is probable that the original form of this name was Harēz, as on this drachm" (*loc. cit.*, pp. 61-62). He refers to Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Calcutta, 1924, p. 358, and quotes the following passage in support of the identification of Harez and Rājputānā : "The name of the country is somewhat doubtful as the unpointed Arabic characters may be read as Haraz (حرز) or Hazar (حزر) and Kharaz (خرز) or Khazar (خزر) as well as Jurz (جرز) or Juzr (جزر). But fortunately there is no uncertainty about its position which is determined to be Rājputānā by several concurring circumstances..........." It is a matter of regret, however, that Cunningham's views have not been quoted faithfully and completely. For immediately before the above passage he says, "All the early Arab geographers speak of a Kingdom named Jurz or Juzr which from its position would appear to be the same as the Kiuche-lo of Hwen Thsang." Cunningham further says "Edrisi, quoting Ibn Khordādbeh, states that Juzr or Huzr was the hereditary title of the King as well as the name of the country. This statement confirms my identification of Juzr with Guzr or Gujar, which is a very numerous tribe, whose name is attached to many important places in the north-west India and the Punjāb and more especially to the great peninsula of Gujarāt." It will be seen that, according to Cunningham, the ancient

name of Rājputānā was Gujar or Gurjara and not Harez as suggested by Mr. Paruck. It is a matter of satisfaction that the suggestion of the great Indologist, made on insufficient data as early as 1871 A. D., has later been proved definitely by unimpeachable epigraphic evidence. The editor of the Calcutta edition of Cunningham's work, consulted by Mr. Paruck, remarks (pp. 696-97), "The inscriptions of the 9th century also applied the name Gurjara *rāshṭra* to the country north of Ajmer and Sambhar Lake (*Imp. Gaz. Ind*, XII, p. 350). Its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo is modern Bhinmāl, 25°N. and 76° 16'E, a town in the Jaswantpur district of Jodhpur (*Imp. Gaz. Ind.*, VIII, p. 111). Bhinmāl or Bhillamāla, the plateau of the Bhils, was the capital of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras who transferred their headquarters to Kanauj." The statement, although it confuses the Gurjara-Pratihāra empire with the Gurjara country and is not strictly accurate, is sufficient to disprove Mr. Paruck's contention.

That Hiuen-tsang's Kiu-che-lo and its capital Pi-lo-mo-lo stand respectively for Gurjara and Bhillamāla is supported by the Daulatpura inscription of 843 A. D. (*Ep. Ind*, V, p. 211 ff.), according to which the Gurjara-Pratīhāra emperor Vatsarāja (*circa* 780-805 A. D.) granted the village of Śivā in the Deṇḍavānaka *vishaya* (modern Didwana in the Jodhpur State, Rajputānā) of the Gurjaratrā *bhūmi*. In the days of the early Arab geoprapherṡ, therefore, the name of the Jodhpur region of Rājputānā was Gurjaratrā or Gujarāt which was derived from the name of the Gurjara people. That, however, this country included the present Alwar and Bharatpur States in eastern Rājputānā is suggested by the celebrated Arab writer Albīrūnī who composed his work on India about 1030 A. D. Albīrūnī refers to 'Bazāna, the capital of Guzarāt" and places it 25 *farsakh* (about 92 miles) to the north of the kingdom of Mewar (capital Jattaraur, i.e. Chitrakūṭa or Chitor) and 15 *farsakh* (about 55 miles) from Rājaurī lying on the route towards the south-west from Kanoj. Rājaurī (i.e., Rājyapurī) is no doubt identical with Rājyapura (modern Rājorgaḍh in the Alwar State, Rājputānā), which was the capital of Mahārājādhirāja Mathanadeva of the Gurjara-Pratihāra lineage according to an inscription of 960 A. D. Albīrūnī further says, "The distance between Mathurā and Kanoj is the same as that between Kanoj and Bazāna, viz. 28 *farsakh* (about 103 miles)." The above indications show almost beyond doubt that Bazāna is no other than the modern Bayānā in the Bharatpur State of Rājputānā. It may be pointed out that Bazāna seems to have ceased to be the capital of Gujarāt in the days of Albīrūnī, as he says, "This town is called Nārāyan by our people. After it had fallen into decay,

the inhabitants migrated to another place called Jadura." The name Nārāyaṇa was apparently derived from a celebrated temple of that god at Bayānā. As regards Jadura, Sachau says, "This reading is uncertain. Perhaps all the signs of the Arabic text (احد حدورة) are the name of a place." It, however, seems that the reading intended is Rājauri, i. e. Rājyapurī or Rajyapura which is the same as the modern Rājor. It may further be pointed out that Albīrūnī's *Canon Masudicus* gives the latitudes and longitudes of both Bazāna (or Nārāyan) and Bhillamāla, longitudes being reckoned from the coast of the Atlantic and Bagdad being located at 70°. As however the longitude recorded for Bazāna is palpably wrong, it hardly helps us in locating the city.

The above discussion will show that Harez was never the name of Rājputānā. According to the combined testimony of inscriptions and of Hiuen-tsang (7th century) and Albīrūnī (11th century), the capital of Gurjaratrā or the Gurjara country in Rājputānā was at first at Bhinmāl in the Jodhpur State, next it was at Bayānā in the Bharatpur State, and afterwards at Rājorgaḍh in the Alwar State. The Arab Geographers, therefore, speak of Gurjara and not of Harez.

WEIGHTS, MEASURES AND COINAGE OF MEDIAEVAL GUJARAT

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We have very scanty information about weights, measures and coinage current in mediæval Gujarat—that is, Gujarat under the Chaulukya or Solanki dynasty which ruled in Aṇahilawāḍ Pāṭaṇ from the end of the tenth century of the Vikrama era upto V. S. 1360, when the armies of Sultan Allauddin Khilji invaded and conquered Gujarat.

Politically, culturally and economically the Chaulukya period was the most prosperous period in the history of Gujarat. Literary and inscriptional evidence bears ample testimony to it. Splendour of Gujarat under Sidhharāja and Kumārapāla has become legendary. But it is very strange that not a single coin struck by the Chaulukya kings has been found as yet !

History of Gujarat before the Chaulukyas has come to light mainly through epigraphic and numismatic evidence. Coins of the Indo-Greek rulers, the Kshatraps, the Traikūṭakas, the Bodhis, the Guptas, the Valabhis, the Rāshṭrakūṭas and the Hūṇas are found in Gujarat in large numbers, but it is simply astonishing that we have not, as yet, come across a single coin of the Chaulukya kings, who ruled in comparatively later times, and whose reign witnessed a great commercial development. From this, some scholars are led to believe that the Chaulukya kings might not have struck their own coins and only certain types of metal-pieces were current as coins; while others believe that a great amount of foreign currency was present in Gujarat, and hence the rulers might not have found it necessary to strike coins in their own mints[1] ; they had issued only certain copper-coins known as *Ṭaṅkās.*

But either of these two surmises cannot be correct in their entirety, because we get the names of so many coins from the contemporary Jain *prabandhas* (which are historical works composed from religious point of view), *mahākāvyas*,

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[1] [It is possible that a fair percentage of the *Gadhiya* silver pieces, so commonly found in Gujarat and Māiwā, may have been issued by the Chaulukya rulers. *A. S. A.*]

kathānakas and inscriptions. Even the *Dvyāśraya-mahākāvya* of great Hemachandra alone furnishes valuable information in this matter. At several places in the *prabandhas* the *Taṅkasālās* (mints) are referred to and some standard coins are mentioned as the *Bhīmapriya*, *Vīsalapriya*, etc., which shows that the Chaulukya kings of Gujarat had got their own mints, and that coins of some of those kings, e.g., Bhīmadeva, Vīsaladeva, etc., were known through their own names.

Information regarding weights and measures which is available from contemporary evidence is even more scanty, and we can hardly get a complete picture of the system prevalent in mediæval Gujarat.

Hence the old Gujarati commentary on the *Gaṇitasāra* of Śridharāchārya, which gives almost complete table of weights, measures and coinage, will be useful to the students of this subject. The only copy available of this rare work is preserved in the Oriental Institute of Baroda, and I am highly indebted to Dr. B. Bhattacharya, Director of the Institute, for putting the manuscript at my disposal for my study. The manuscript contains 7 pages written in fine Devanāgarī script. It was copied down in Aṇahilwāḍ Pāṭaṇ, the mediæval capital of Gujarat, in V. S. 1449 by one Rājakīrtimiśra, for instruction of the children of a wealthy Moḍha Bania family, which shows that the weights, measures and coins mentioned therein were of current use.

In the beginning of the manuscript there is some miscellaneous writing about arithmetic, which I have omitted here. Then begins the *Gaṇitasāra*. The anonymous old Gujarati commentator of the work has added a great deal of new information in his commentary, which is not to be found in the original. And hence the importance of the work. Names of many weights, measures and coins referred to in the commentary, which is written at Pāṭaṇ in North Gujarat, are found in the inscriptions at Māṅgrol in southern Kathiawad and at Nāḍol in Marwar, which shows that they were current all over Gujarat and also in Marwad, which was a part of mediæval Gujarat politically, culturally and linguistically. This commentary is the only source available, wherein we get systematic tables of weights, measures and coins of this period, and as such, I take the opportunity to publish it here with relevant notes. But I must say that the subject is so important and interesting that it deserves to be treated in a separate monograph.

The text of *Gaṇitasāra* with the old Gujarati commentary, as given in the manuscript, is as follows—

I. नत्वा शिवं स्वविरचित ... गणितस्य सारमुद्धृत्य ।
लोकव्यवहाराय प्रवक्ष्यति श्रीधराचार्यः ॥

प्रवक्ष्यति प्रकर्षेण कथयिष्यति । कोऽसौ श्रीधराचार्यः । किं प्रवक्ष्यति । सारं गणितस्य । कस्मादुद्धृत्य । पौलस्त्यलोमकवशिष्ठसौरिपितामहादीनां गणितसिद्धान्तानवलोक्य । किमर्थं वक्ष्यति । लोकव्यवहाराय । किं कृत्वा । शिवं नत्वा ।

शिवु भणीइ देवाधिदेवु भट्टारकु महेश्वरु किसु जु परमेश्वरु, कैलासशिषरुमंडनु, पार्वतीहृदयरमणु, विश्वनाथु जिणं विश्व नीपजाविउं तसु नमस्कारु करीउ बालावबोधनार्थु बाल भणीइ अज्ञान तीहं अवबोध जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि, आत्मीय यशोवृद्धयर्थु श्रीधराचार्यु गणितु प्रकटीकृतु

पुनः किंविशिष्टः । कियन्मात्रं गणितज्ञः । सर्वज्ञानार्थमाह ।
उत्तरतः सुरनिलयं दक्षिणतः मलयपर्वतं यावत् ।
प्राग् पयोदधिमध्ये नो गणकः श्रीधरादन्यः ॥

उत्तरदिशि सुरनिलयु पर्वत सीमा दक्षिणदिशि मलयपर्वत सीमा, पूर्व दिशि क्षीरसमुद्र सीमा, पश्चिमदिशि क्षार समुद्र सीमा—एतलां मध्ये श्रीधराचार्य गणक

[After this comes some unimportant writing about arithmetical numbers, which has been omitted here.]

II. षोडशपणः पुराणः पणो भवेत् काकिणीचतुष्केण ।
पञ्चाहतैश्चतुर्भिर्वराटकैः काकिणी एका ॥

अतो व्याख्यानम् । वराटक भणीइ कउडा, तेहे चार कउडेपांचगुणे कीधइ हुंते २०, तेहे २० कउडे कागिणी ते भणीइ बोडी, ४ कागिणी पणु, १६ पणि पुराणु, ५ कउडे पावीस, ४ पावीसे वीसु, ५ वीसे लोहडिउ, ४ लोहडीए रूउ, चिह्ना ऊणे ७ लोहडीए वांकुडीउ, ५ रूए एक द्रामु, द्रामि ५ रूआ, द्रामि २ द्रमढ, द्रामि ३ वांकुडा, द्रामि २० लोहडीआ, द्रामि ४० अधवा, द्रामि ८० सवावीसा, द्रामि १०० वीसा, द्रामि ४०० पावीसा

III. हिव सुवर्णादिक धातुतौल्य जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ किसी किसी छइ आर्या ?

माषो दशार्धगुंजा षोडषमाषो निगद्यते कर्षः ।
ससुवर्णसासुवर्ण (?) स्तैरेव पलं चतुर्भिश्च ॥

आर्या तणउ किसिउ अर्थु ? गुंजा भणइ चिणुठी वचइ रती, दश तणइ अर्धि पांचि गुंजा १ मासु, तेणे १६ मासे कर्षु, तेणे ४ कर्षि पलु, ६ पलि पामणु, १२ पलि अधमणु, २४ पलि मणु, १० मणि धडी, १० धडीं भारु, इणि परि तोलतां भारसइ लेखउं

IV. हिव सुवर्णादिक धातुतौल्य प्रमाणम् ।

यवैस्तु निष्पावमुषन्ति षड्भिरष्टाभिरेभिर्धर प्रदिष्टम् ।
गद्याणकं तद्द्वितयेन ......व्यावर्णयन्तीह सुवर्णदक्षाः ॥

इह अस्मिन् स्थाने सुवर्णदक्षाः सुवर्णपण्डिता व्यावर्णयन्ति कथयन्ति ।

८ सरसवि जवु, २ जवि रती, तेहे ३ रती वालु, तेणे ८ वालि धरणु वचइ अधगदीयाणु, १६ वालि गदीयाणु, तेहे १० गदीयाणे पल, तेहे १५ पलि मणु

V. तृतीय परिं जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि वृत्तु १ कहीसिइ—

निष्पावकानां युगलानि सप्त धाटीपटीष्टं घटके ब्रुवन्ति)
पलैर्द्विरुक्तं दशकेन तेषां तौल्यं प्रमाणं व्यवहारसिद्धिः ॥

निष्पावक भणीइ वालु, तेहि १४ वालि धडउ, तेहे १४ धडे पलु, तेहे २० पलि मणु

VI. हिव सुवर्णादिक धातुतौल्यप्रमाणम् । सुवर्णरूप्यवस्तुपित्तलकांस्यसांसकलोहकथीरुगजदन्तानां मंजिष्ठादिपट्टसूत्रकर्पासिक तथा कर्पूरअगरुधुरतिगोलालुकुंकुमकस्तूरिकाप्रभृतयः । सूंठिपीपलिहिंगुमरीचादीनि वस्तूनि तौल्यानि विद्यन्ते ।

कुंकुमादीनि १० गदियाणे पलु सुवर्णरूप्यादि पलु १० गदीयाणे पट्टसूत्र पलु १६ गदीयाणे एवं कनूजमालवगुर्जरादिदेशप्रमाणम्

VII. हिव धान्यमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ. किसी छइ आर्या ?—

खार्येका षोडशभिर्द्रोणैश्चतुराढको भवेत् द्रोणः ।
प्रस्थैश्चतुर्भिराढक एकः प्रस्थश्चतुःकुडवम् ॥

आर्या तणउ किसउ अर्थु ? १२ अधवालि १ कूडवु, ४ कुडवि प्रस्थु, ४ प्रस्थि आढकु, ४ आढकि द्रोणु, १६ द्रोणि खारी

VIII. पुनरपि धान्यमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि वृत्तु १ कहीसिइ. किसिउ वृत्तु ?

चतुष्टयं खल्विह पल्लिकानां मनस्विनो मानकमामनन्ति ।
तैः सेतिकैका कथिता चतुर्भिः स्यात्सेतिकानां षट्केन हारी ॥

किसउ अर्थु—४ पवाले पाली, ४ पाली माणु, ४ माणे सेइ, १२ माणे पडकु, २ पडके हारी, ४ हारी माणी, अथानन्तरं माणीसइ लेखउं ।

३. ...डे छोइहउ, २ छोहिए पवालिउं, २ पवाले अधवाली, २ अधवाली पाली, ४ पाली माणउ, ४ माणे सेइ, ८ सेइ हारउ, १६ सेइ कलसी, १० कलसी मूडउ, मूडइ १० कलसी मूडइ २० हारा, मूडइ १६० सेइ, मूडइ ६४० माणा, मूडइ २५६० पाली, मूडइ ५१२० अधवाली, मूडइ १०२४० पवाला, मूडइ

२०४८० छोहिआं, मूडइ ४०९६० अधछोहीआं, मूडइ १५९७४४०० चोखा, मूडइ १६३८४० गड. मूडइ ३२००००००० राई।

IX. हिव रसमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ. किसी आर्या ? [The *āryā* is not written in the ms., probably owing to the copyist's oversight.]

१३ तिल टीप, ४ टीपि लगार, ४ लगारि पावली, २ पावली अधउली, ४ पावली करसु, ४ करसि पलु, ४ पलि सोहलु, २४ करसि डुढीउं, ४० करसि आढीउं, ४ सोहले पाइउं, ८ सोहले अधघडउ, १२ सोहलें पुडघडउ, १६ सोहले घडउ, घडइ ३० अधवारणां, घडइ २५६ करस घडइ १०२४ पली, घडइ २०४८ अधउली, घडइ ४०९६ पावली, घडइ ८१९२ अधपावली, घडइ ६५५३६ टीप ; इणि परि मपतां घडसइ लेखउं।

X. पृथ्वीमपित जाणिवा तणइ अर्थि आर्या १ कहीसिइ. किसी छइ ज आर्या ?

हस्तोऽङ्गुलविंशत्या चतुरन्वितया चतुष्करो दण्डः।
तद्द्विसहस्रं क्रोशो योजनमेकं चतुःक्रोशम् ॥

आर्या तणइ किसउ अर्थु ? ८ सरसवि जवु, ६ जवि आंगुल, २८ आंगुलि हाथु, ४ हाथि दंडु, २००० दंडि क्रोशु, क्रोशु भणीइ गाउ, ४ गाउ जोअणु, ४ जोअणि दंडु।

XI. दण्डो भवेत्पाणिचतुष्टयेन दण्डैस्त्रिभिर्नैतनकं वदन्ति।
द्विसहस्रसंख्यैरुभयप्रदण्डैर्निवर्त्तनं तं व्यवहारप्रज्ञाः।
तद्द्विशतिर्भूतलमानमाहुः वसुन्धरामानविधानधीराः ॥

वृत्तु भणइ किसउ अर्थु ? २४ आंगुलि हाथु. ८ हाथि दंडु, ३ दंडि वंशु, १३ वंशि नेतनु, २० नेतनि हलवाउ, हलवायि ४८३८४० जव।

[Here we find some *ślokas* giving information about Puranic geography and division of time, and also the commentary on those *ślokas*, which being not relevant to our purpose, I have not given here.]

एवं नत्वा गणितसारं श्रीधराचार्यकृतं समाप्तम्।
चलन्ति मेरुप्रभृति कुला(चला)श्चलन्ति तारागृहभास्करादयः।
कल्पान्तकाले चलति महोदधिर्न साधुवाक्यं चलति कदाचित् ॥

यादृशं पुस्तके दृष्टं तादृशं लिखितं मया।
यदि शुद्धमशुद्धं वा मम दोषो न दीयते ॥
उदकानलचोरेभ्यो मूषकेभ्यस्तथैव च।
रक्षणीयं प्रयत्नेन यतः कष्टेन लिख्यते ॥

भग्नपृष्ठकटीग्रीवं वक्रदृष्टिरधोमुखम् ।
कष्टेन लिखितं शास्त्रं यत्नेन परिपालयेत् ॥

सं० १४४९ वर्षे वैशाख वदि ११ रवौ श्रीमदणहिल्लपुरपत्तने समस्तराजावली-समलंकृतश्रीदफनखानराज्ये मलिक श्रीशिलारसीहे व्यापृयमाणे सति । श्रीमोढज्ञातीय त० गोगासुत ठ० अमरसीहसुत थिरपाल-डुङ्गर-वइरसीहप्रभृति समस्तभ्रातृवर्गेभ्यः भ्रातृपुत्राणां पठनार्थं पितृव्य चाणारी (?) राजकीर्त्तिमिश्रैः सूत्रपुस्तिका लिखिताऽस्ति ॥ छ ॥ शुभं भवतु कल्याणं लेखकपाठकयोः ॥ श्री ॥

NOTES

The manuscript of the *Gaṇitasāra* was copied down in V. S. 1449, i. e. about 89 years after Gujarat was conquered by the Moslems (V.S. 1360). The commentary in old Gujarati must have been composed sometime before this date, probably during the Rajput rule. But from the form of the language, it is evident that the work can hardly be earlier than the first half of the fourteenth century of the Vikrama Era. The date of the copying down of the work and the fact that it was copied down for the instruction of the children of a family of the merchant class, possibly by the family teacher, shows that the tables of the weights, measures and coins which were prevalent during the Hindu rule were also generally current even after the Moslem rule was established.

I. The author says that he is writing this commentary for *Bālāvabodhana*—that is, for the enlightenment of the common people. It would be interesting to note that in old Gujarati, especially in the Jain literature, Gujarati commentaries of Sanskrit or Prakrit works are generally known as *Bālāvabodhas*.

II. This is the table of coins. Names of several coins mentioned in this table are found in some inscriptions from Gujarat and Marwad, while others like *Lohaḍiu*, *Vāṅkuḍiu*, and *Dramaḍha*, etc., are known for the first time. The name *Viṁśopaka*[1] is found in an inscription of Ṭhakkur Rājapāladeva from Nadol, dated V. S. 1200. The *Vīsā* in this table is the same as *Viṁśopaka*. It was a small coin of copper. The word is spelled as *Vīsopaka* also[2]. The word *Rūo* has been used in an inscription of above mentioned Rājapāladeva dated V. S. 1202[3]. In an inscription in the Soḍhaḍi Vāv at Māngrol

1. Jinavijayaji: *Prāchīna Jain Lekha Saṁgraha*, Vol. 2, No 333.
2. *Ibid*, No. 334.
3. *Ibid*.

in the Southern Kathiawad, dated V. S. 1202, the word Rūpaka is mentioned as follows—तथा लाठिपद्रापथके ठ० मुल्हकेन रूपकैकः प्रदत्तः ।[1] The *Rūpaka* of this inscription and *Rūo* of above mentioned Rājapalādeva's inscription are probably indentical with *Rūo* in our table. Achārya Hemachandra mentions *Rūadau* in an Apabhraṁśa verse quoted in his Prakrit Grammar—धम्मि न वेच्चइ रूअडउ (4-419), 'He does not spend even a rupee after dharma'. This *Rūadau* is the same as *Rūu*.

In the Mangrol inscription we also find the word *Kārshāpaṇa*. This coin is very old. We find it in the Smṛitis of Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada. *Kārshāpaṇa* was sometimes considered equal to 1 *paṇa* and sometimes to 16 *paṇas*[2]. Our table says—षोडशपण: पुराणः; which indicates that *Purāṇa* may be a synonym of the silver *paṇa*, which was equalled to 16 copper *paṇas*. It is evident from the table that the *Paṇa* was a copper coin, and that its price was equal to 80 cowries.

In the beginning of the table we find—२० कउडे कागिणी ते भणीइ बोडी । The word *boḍī* mentioned herein is old. In an Apabhraṁśa verse quoted by Āchārya Hemachandra in his Prakrit grammar, we find—केसरी न लहइ बोड्डि अवि, गय लक्खेहिं घेप्पन्ति (4-335), "The lion does not get even a *boḍī*, while the elephant is bought at lakhs of rupees." The Sanskrit commentary called *Doḍhakavṛitti* on the Apabhraṁśa quotations of Hemachandra explains the word as *Kapardikā* (cowrie), but our table definitely shows that Kāginī (Sk. Kākinī) or Boḍī was not a cowrie, but its price was equal to 20 cowries. As the verse quoted by Hemachandra indicates, it was a token of insignificant value.

The word *drama* or *dramma* is found very often in literature and inscriptions. It is current as *dāma* in several modern Indian vernaculars. Originally the Sanskrit word *dramma* is derived from the Greek word *drachme*. *Dirham* used for the coins of Moslem rulers like Mahmūd of Ghazna was also from this word. It was the largest standard coin, and was made of gold or silver. Our table says that *dramma* was equal to 5 *Rūpakas*.

Several coins which are not referred to in our table are found in the commentary on the *Dvyāśraya Mahākāya* of Hemachandra. In addition to the *Rūpaka*, the coin for half a *Rūpaka* was also current, and it was known as *Bhāgaka*

1. G. V. Ācārya : *Historical Inscriptions of Gujarat*, Vol. 2. no. 145.

2. When *paṇa* was merely a contraction of *kārshāpana*, it was equated to it ; when it is stated that one *paṇa* was equal to 16 *paṇas* the rates of value between the copper *paṇa* (roughly equal to 80 *rattis*) and silver *paṇa* (roughly equal to 32 *rattis*) is stated.

(17-94). There are references of the coins equal in price to 20 *Rūpakas* (17, 81). These must be golden coins. Among other golden coins, *Bista* and *Nishka* are referred to. The weight of *Nishka* was 108 *suvarṇapalas* (17, 83-84), and of *Bista*, 16 *Māshas* (4,445). According to our tables (see III, IX), *pala* was equal to 4 *Karshas*, and it shows that *Nishka* must be a golden coin of very large size. *Śurpa* was a small coin; a flower garland could be had for a *Śurpa* (17, 48). *Prastha* is also referred to as a coin.

III, IV, V. These are the tables of weights for precious metals like gold and silver. The table given by the Smṛitikāras Manu, Yājñavalkya and Nārada is like it. There was considerable difference of opinion among the authors from different provinces of India regarding the weight of *māsha, karsha,* etc. Almost all the weights referred to in these tables are already known from various other sources. But even then, the present tables are particularly important in as much as they state for the first time, what system of weights was used in a commercial province like Gujarat for precious metals.

It is not mentioned here as to from what substance these weights were made. But elsewhere we are told that either they were made of iron or of the stones from rivers Gaṇḍakī or Narmadā, which being very hard would not be easily worn out.

VI. Our table says that one and the same weight carried different values with reference to different articles. In case of perfumes like saffron, and precious metals like gold one *pala* was equal to 10 *Gadiāṇās*, while in case of fine textiles, it was equal to 16 *gadiāṇās*. The commentary adds that this system of weights was prevalent in the countries of Kanoj, Malva and Gujarat.

VII. These are the weights for corn. They date from a very old time. We find them in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, and also in the *Bhaviśyapurāṇa* and the *Padmapurāṇa*. In the *Purāṇas* the table has been given exactly like this, but in addition, two more items are mentioned: 2 *Palas* = 1 *Prasṛti*, 2 *Prasṛtis* = 1 *Kuḍava*. It seems that the *Kuḍava* was = 16 tolas, *prastha* = 64 tolas, *Āḍhaka* = 256 tolas, and *Droṇa* = 1024 tolas.

VIII. These are also the weights for corn. They are especially important, because very few of them are current in modern Gujarat and Marwad; and only a small number of them is known from the literary and inscriptional sources. *Pavālā* and *Pāli* of this table are synonymous respectively with *Pāilā* and *Pāili*. The word *Pāilā* is mentioned in the Suṇaka

grant of Karṇa Solaṅki of V. S. 1200, and also in the Nadol inscriptions of Thakkur Rājapāladeva of V. S. 1200 and 1202. Pāilā was equal to four lbs.

The weight *Mudā* is referred to in the table. It is said that one *Mudā* was equal to 10 *kalasis*. In the present day Gujarat, *Kalasi* is = 16 maunds. As the table says that one *Kalasi* = 16 *Sei*, we may take *Sei* as equivalent to one maund.

From the literary sources like the *Jagaḍucartra* of Sarvānandasūri it is known that Jagaḍushāh, that great philanthropist from Cutch, had distributed thousands of *mudās* of corn among the poor during the great three year famine of V. S. 1313-15. During the Chaulukya period, Cutch was a part of the Gujarat empire, and there is no wonder if an identical system of weights and measures was prevalent in Gujarat and Cutch.

The *Dvyāśraya* commentary of Purṇakalaśa furnishes a useful new reference. It gives a weight *āchit*, and adds that it was equal to 10 *bhāras* (4-45). At several other places *Śakaṭ* (a cartload) has been given as synonym of *āchit*, and its weight is said to be 6400000 *Guṁjās*. In the same work a measure called *Lohita* is also given (17,82)

IX. Measures for liquids like oil and ghee. Several of the names are known for the first time from this table.

X, XI. Measures for land. Most of the measures given in this table are quite well known and are current in many parts of modern India. In the inscriptions the word *Halvāu* is given as *Halavāha* (modern Gujarati *Halavā*—"a piece of land which can be tilled by one plough") The measure *Netana* is known for the first time, as far as my information goes.

A NEW FIND OF GOLD COINS IN RAIGARH STATE

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

The five gold coins that are discussed in this paper were found together in a field in Kharsia circle of Raigarh state in Central Provinces along with a broken and twisted copper pot. The exact place of the find is the bed of the outlet of a field in village Parsadih, 13 miles from the Kharsia Railway Station of B. N. Railway, 74 miles east of Bilaspur. The find was reported to me by Pandit Lochan Prasad Pandeya, Hon. Secretary, Mahakosal Historical Research Society. I then wrote to Mr. J. Mahanta, Bar-at-law, Dewan Saheb of Raigarh State, for a loan of the coins for examination and photographing. He readily acceded to my request and placed the coins at my disposal for publication. The numismatic world owes him a great debt of gratitute for the facilities given by him in the publication of the coins. The broken and twisted copper pot found along with them is most probably a part of the pot in which the hoard was originally kept. The pot however was a small one and could hardly have contained more than twenty coins of the *Padma-ṭaṅka* type.

This discovery sheds considerable light on the medieval history of south Kośala. Of the five coins, one belongs to the Muslim period. It was deciphered for me by Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal. It is a *mohur* of Nasiru-d-din Mahmud I, who is known to have ruled at Delhi between 1246 and 1266 A. D. He was a pious and abstemious ruler ; government was carried on by Balban ; but the *de jure* ruler was permitted to issue coins. The date of the coin is off the flan. It must have been some year between 660 and 669 A. H. Whatever the full date may have been, it clearly falls within the known dates of Nasiru-d-din Mahmud. The coin is an issue of the Dehli mint. It measures 1·1″. I give below its description.

Obverse. In double circle	*Reverse.* In double circle
فی عهد الامام	السلطان الاعظم
المستعصم امیر	ناصرالدینا والدین
المومنین	ابوالمظفر محمود
Margin—	بن السلطان
ضرب هذه السکة........	Margin—
Small circles over عهد	ضرب هذه السکة بحضرت دهلی
and متعصم	فی سنة..........م

Translation of legend on obverse,
'In the time (of) the Imām
Al must'aṣim'
Commander of the faithful.'

Traces of date are visible, but it cannot be made out with certainty.

Pl. XA, 5

Of the remaining four gold coins in the find three are *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa, *c.* 1210. to *c.* 1247 A. D. The *Padma-ṭaṅkas* of this type have been long known to numismatists. They were first published by Eliot in his *Coins of South India*; he conjecturally ascribed them to the Kadamba dynasty ruling in the 5th or the 6th century A. D.[1] Rapson also accepted this attribution to the Kadamba dynasty, but doubted whether the coins can be as old as the 6th century A. D.[2]

It was Mr. Srinivas Raghav Aiyangar who for the first time advanced the theory that these *Padma-ṭaṅkas* are really the coins of the Yādava rulers who were in power in the 13th century A. D. In *Numismatic Supplement*, No. 250, he has published and illustrated the coins of four Yādava rulers, Siṅghaṇa, Kṛishṇa, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra[3].

Three of the four *Padma-ṭaṅkas* found in the present find bear a close resemblance to the coins of Siṅghaṇa illustrated by Mr. Aiyangar. They are all cup-shaped, concave on one side and convex on the other. The reverse is quite blank. The obverse has got a lotus in the centre and four marks punched in four corners. At each end of one diagonal, there is a partly preserved letter S'rī in the old Kannaḍa Telugu script. At one of the ends of the other diagonal we have the name of the king and at the other the auspicious mark of a conch.

On the three coins of Siṅghaṇa, his name can be read fairly well on the original pieces. But as the coins are concave, it is difficult to photograph them so well as to render the legend legible in the photograph. I have therefore given a drawing of the first of them, which faithfully represents the legend in the original form and characters. In the case of coin No. 1, the plate gives two photographs, 1a and 1b, with different exposures, and also its drawing, 1c. The first letter *sa* is very clear on all the three coins. Its upper left limb is truncated on coin No. 1, **Pl. XA, 1a**; its remaining portion can be clearly seen in the drawing (**Pl. XA, 1c**) which will enable the reader to make out its outlines on the coins illustrated in **Pl. XA, 2-4**. The first letter

1. Eliot : *Coins of South India*, p. 56.
2. Rapson : *Indian Coins*, p. 32 pl. V, 18.
3. *J. A. S. B.*, 1925, Numismatic Supplement, p. 6.

is simply *sa* on coins Nos. 1 and 2, **Pl. XA, 1-2**, but *sā* (standing for *sī* with its *mātrā* truncated) in coin No. 3, **Pl. XA, 3.** The letter *gha* is also clear on all the three coins; its form can be made out in the drawing of coin No. 1, **Pl. XA, 1c** which will enable the reader to trace it in the rather dim photographs. *Gha* is followed by *ṇa* which is of the modern Nāgarī variety, with three prominent lines hanging down. It is quite clear on all the coins in the original and its form is faithfully reproduced in the drawing of coin No. 1. It is hoped that it will enable the reader to trace its outlines on **Pl. XA, 1-3.**

There can thus be no doubt that the full legend is Siṅghaṇa, and that these coins were issued by the famous ruler of the Yādava dynasty of that name.

The upper part of the letters on the fourth coin, **(Pl. XA, 1-2)** has been truncated; it is therefore difficult to conjecture what the name of the king was who issued the coin. I am however publishing a photograph of the coin in the hope that it may be later found useful for comparison when better preserved specimens of this type are found.

On the coins of Siṅghaṇa below his name there is an object, which can best be described as a sword in its sheath. There are two dot-like objects attached to the sword; they may be intended to indicate the handle of the sword or the loop of the sheath.

On the fourth *Padma-ṭaṅka*, we have a bow below the legend instead of the sword A similar bow can be seen on the *Padma-ṭaṅka* published by Eliot in *Coins of South India*, Pl. I, 8.

This discovery of the three coins of the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa along with a coin of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd in the fields of the village Parsadih in Raigarh state in Eastern C. P. or ancient south Kośala throws important new light on the history of the Yādavas. In his well-known *praśasti*, Hemādri claims that the Yādava king Siṅghaṇa had captured an elephant corps belonging to king Jājalla and deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty.[1] Pāṭana inscription, dated in 1206 A.D., states that kings of Mathurā and Benares had felt the sting of the Yādava power and that a petty general of Siṅghaṇa had defeated a Muslim ruler.[2] In the absence of

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१. येनानीयत मत्तवारणघटा जाज्जल्लभूमिभृतः ।
कक्कूलादवनीपतेरपहृता येनाधिराज्यश्रियः ॥ V. 41.

२. पृथ्वीशो मथुराधिपो रणमुखे काशीपतिः पातितः ।
येनासावपि यस्य भृत्यबटुना हंमीरवीरो जितः ॥ *E.I.*, I, p. 340.

corroborative evidence these claims were usually taken to be unfounded. Jājalla II, the last Eastern Chedi ruler of that name ruling in South Kośala or Chhattisgarh, died in *c.* 1170. The dynasty did not however terminate with him ; Jājalladeva II was succeeded by Ratnadeva III and the latter perhaps by Pṛithvīdeva III. No Jājalladeva III is however known to have succeeded these rulers in the first decade of the 13th century.

The discovery of three coins of Siṅghaṇa in the very heart of the kingdom of the Chedis of Ratanpur now enables us to understand the statements in Hemādri's *praśasti* better. It is possible that Pṛithvīdeva III may have been succeeded by Jājalladeva III ; only we have yet got no definite evidence to prove his existence or rule. Or it may be that in *c.* 1270 A. D. when Hemādri composed his eulogy, there was no definite information at Devagiri about the name of the Eastern Chedi king defeated by Siṅghaṇa about 60 years before. Jājalladeva was however a name closely associated with the Eastern Chedi dynasty, and Hemādri may have thought it convenient to introduce it in connection with the exploits of his patron's grand-father. It is well known how Chaucer introduces [D]emetrius as king of Ind in his Knight's Tale, the incidents in which occurred more than 1500 years after the death of that Indo-Bactrian king. Hemādri may have done the same, if it is conclusively proved that Pṛithvīdeva III was really never succeeded by a Jājalladeva III, ruling in Chattisgarh in the first decade of the 13th century.

While admitting that the gold coins often travel over long distances with traders and pilgrims, it has to be recognised that the discovery of the three coins of Siṅghaṇa in Raigarh state, which formed the very heart of the old Eastern Chedi kingdom, now makes it very probable that Hemādri was not merely drawing on his imagination, when he referred to the defeat of king Jājalla by Siṅghaṇa. It would appear that Siṅghaṇa not only defeated his contemporary in Chhattisgarh, but also occupied the country for some time as claimed by a Yādava inscription found in Mysore.[1] Eastern Chedi rule had practically come to an end by the beginning of the 13th century, and it is not unlikely that after the defeat of Jājalla III, the Yādavas may have occupied a portion of the kingdom for a few decades. It must have been during this period of occupation that gold coins of the conqueror began to circulate in Chhatisgarh, some of which were included in the hoard that was discovered in Parsadih village.

1 of क्षोणीवल्लभजाजल्लदेवकरिघटासंघटनदुर्धरराज्यहरः Chikka Sakkanna Insor., *An. Rep. Mysore Ar. S.*, 1929, p. 143.

The statement of Hemādri and the Pāṭaṇa plates that Siṅghaṇa deprived king Kakkula of his sovereignty must also be taken to mean that he defeated the contemporary ruler of the Western Chedi house of Jubblepore, rather than a king of that very name. It now appears probable that the Yādavas were in a position to retain the Chedi dominions for two or three decades. While they held Jubblepore and Ratanpur, they may have made an effort to capture Benares also; hence the statement of the Pāṭaṇa inscription that the king of Benares felt the sting of the Yādava power. Whether the Yādavas ever penetrated upto Mathurā as claimed by the Pāṭaṇa inscription must be left an open question in the present state of our knowledge.

The Yādavas probably held the Chedi dominions for about three decades. The discovery of the coin of Nāṣiru-d-dīn Maḥmūd along with the three coins of Siṅghaṇa shows that it was probably during his rule that the Yādavas had to evacuate this territory owing to the pressure of the Muslim advance. The claim of the Pāṭaṇa inscription quoted on p. 149 above, that a petty general of Siṅghaṇa defeated a Muslim general may refer to some of the incidents of the conflicts between the two powers in Chhattisgarh. It is however also likely that it may refer to some skirmishes on the outskirts of Mālwā, where also conflicts between the two powers were possible.

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DIRHAM OF AL MUQTADIR

By Mr. Naji Al Asil, Director General of Antiquities, Iraq.

[A paper on a Bull and Horseman type of coin of the Abbasid Caliph Al Muqtadir Billah Jaafar has been published by me in this *Volume* on pp. 75-78. I had requested Mr. Naji Al Asil, Director General of Antiquities, to throw further light on the coin. I am printing below his communication, which was received too late to be published along with my original paper.

A. S. A.]

Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter dated 25/11/1946 in which you enquired about the Dirham of Al Muqtadir, which was found by this Department, we append below some explanations. Other detailed information will be included in a future number of "*Sumer*".

1. To our knowledge no dirham has been found on one side of which is a picture of a bull and on the other a mounted horseman except the Dirham of Al Muqtadir in question.
2. This is not an ordinary dirham used in currency. It must be of the kind called "Silat" dirhams, which are usually struck on occasions such as "Ids" and festive celebrations.
3. To our knowledge, the most ancient Abbasid pictorial coin is that of Al Mutawakkil Allah. On one side of it is the picture of the Caliph with a camel and driver. It was struck in 241 A.H.
4. The coins which were struck by the Shahi kings of Kabul valley and the Punjab, bearing the pictures of the bull and the horseman, (i. e. those which resemble the dirham of Muqtadir and are published in the first Volume of the *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum* by V. A. Smith, pp. 259, Plate No. 26, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5) bear Indian inscriptions, while the dirham of Al Muqtadir has its beautiful Kufic lettering.
5. These coins which were struck by the Shahis of Kabul have been thus referred to by Shaikh Ja'afar bin Ali of Damascus in his book "Mahasin Al Tijarah" which he wrote in the year 670. A.H.

The Author says :

"I was sitting one day in Tripoli in Syria in the market when an auctioneer came with broken silver amongst which there was a sound dirham. Its weight exceeded one "mithcal"; on one side of it there was a picture of bull, on the other an image of a mounted horseman with a very handsome face. On both sides there were inscriptions in a language I do not understand. I bought the silver and the dirham remained in my hands. One of the learned men of Damascus, Persian in origin, saw it with me. He told me that he knows the origin of this dirham. It is, as he said, struck in India, and is being used extensively in Gazna. He recited some verse in Persian in this dirham.

He told me further that the translation of the inscriptions on one side is :—

"Anyone who keeps this dirham and does not spend it except in a reasonable way, on religous commands, is like the horseman who is master of the animal and himself.[1]

On the other side the inscription is :—

"He who spends this is like the bull in discrimination. He does not know himself or anything else."

6. It is our opinion that the minter who struck the dirham of Muqtadir provided the model for the coins of the Shahis of Kabul. The bull resembles an Indian bull in appearance. The other interpretation is that the dirham is of Indian origin. The horseman is represented carrying the reins in his right hand contrary to the Arab custom. The right hand is reserved usually for the sword.

[I am looking forward with great interest for further information on this interesting coin type, which the Director General of Antiquities has promised to publish in a future number of the *Sumer*. I had referred to two possibilities about the interpretation of this type. (1) That the coin type may have been borrowed by the Baghdad Caliph from the Shāhi rulers of the Kabul valley (2) That it may have been issued by some Hindu chief recently converted to Islam, who was a feudatory of the Caliph. I have already indicated that the first of the above two views appeared to me as probable.

[The translation of the obverse legend, as given by the learned scholar of Damascus to Shaikh Ja'afarbin Ali, is a pure fiction. This side has only the name of the king. The reverse has no inscription at all, except in the case of the coins of Spalapatideva, the legend on which has not yet been deciphered, *A. S. A.*]

The insuperable difficulty in accepting the Director General's view that the Hindu rulers of the Kabul valley borrowed this type from the dirham of Al Muqdadir is that there is clear evidence to show that they started this coin type in *c.* 875 A.D., i.e. about fifty years before the time of the Caliph Al Muqtadir. It will be possible to accept the view that the type first originated in Baghdad, if it could be proved that it had been started by some predecessor of Al Muqtadir earlier than *c.* 875 A. D.

It is further worth noting that the type was not one ordinarily used in currency, as Mr. Naji al Asil has himself observed above. There is no evidence whatever to show that its specimens were current in the Kabul valley rendering their imitation probable. The coins are so rare that they are a numismatic novelty. The coins of the Shahi rulers were on the other hand quite common at Ghazna and well known in Western Asia, as shown by the testimony of the Arab Author quoted by Mr. Naji Al Asil. They could therefore well have been borrowed in Baghdad. *A.S.A.*

SOME INTERESTING COINS IN WATSON MUSEUM.

BY MR. B. L. MANKAD, B. A., LL. B., CURATOR,
WATSON MUSEUM, RAJKOT.

I publish in this paper few coins of Rana Vikramaditya of Porbandar and of Zorawar and Bismilla, the Rulers of Radhanpur which are in the coin-cabinet of the Watson Museum, Rajkot. They differ in some respects from the coins of the same rulers in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, as described by Mr. Allan in Volume IV of *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum.* They therefore deserve to be brought to the notice of the numismatists.

COINS OF RANA VIKRAMADITYA OF PORBANDAR

Like the early coins of Nawanagar, the reverse of these coins of Rana Vikramaditya contains the design adopted from a Gujarat coin of Muzaffar Shah III which reads مظفر شاه السلطان. Below this is added in Nāgarī श्री राणा On the obverse are found the portions of the legend ارحمن بتايد شمس الدينا , الدين (Pl. XC, 1-2). There are seven silver and eighteen copper coins in the Museum of this type. The weights and sizes of silver coins vary from 15 to 68 grains and ·3 to ·55 inches respectively, while those of copper coins vary from 58 to 170 grains and ·48 to ·65 inches respectively.

The coins described in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue* resemble these coins in several respects, but they differ from them in having on the reverse श्री राम instead of श्री राणा. It would be worthwhile ascertaining what import the word राम could have on these coins. The word राणा would of course denote the title of the rulers. These coins were issued from 1831 A. D. and onwards.

COINS OF ZORAWAR & BISMILLA, RULERS OF RADHANPUR.

Kings Zorawar and Bismilla ruled at Radhanpur from 1824 to 1874 and 1874 to 1895 A. D. Their coins in the museum are thick and misshapen. On the coins of Zorawar we have a uniface impression *Jo* on the reverse (Pl. XC, 3) and on those of Bismilla we have at the same place the uniface impression *Bī* in Gujarati written in Bālbodha style, i. e. under a top line (Pl. XC, 4). The obverse is quite blank in both the cases. There are seventeen copper coins of Zorawar in this Museum and their weights and sizes vary from 90 to 156

grains and ·35x·48 to ·5 x ·7 inches respectively, as they are oblong in shape. There are only two coins of Bismilla weighing and measuring 122 and 143 grs. and ·5x. 6 and ·5x.5 respectively.

The coins of Zorawar as described in Mr. Allan's *Catalogue* have the uniface impression *Go* while those of Bismilla have the impression Ji. We fail to understand what connotation the letter *Go* can have on the coins of Zorawar; similarly, the significance of letter *Ji* on the coins of Bismilla cannot be understood. The letters *Jo* and *Bi* would, of course, represent the first letters of the names Zorawar and Bismilla respectively.

We hope the numismatic scholars would throw more light on this.

NOTE ON INDO-SASSANIAN COINS.

BY DR. J. M. UNVALA, PH. D. (HEIDELBERG).

Fifty coins selected from a hoard of more than 3000 coins, discovered at Piplaj in Ajmer-Merwara, had been kindly sent to me for inspection last December by Mr. U. C. Bhattacharya, M.A., Curator of the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer. They pertain to the type of coins, commonly called Indo-Sassanian. This term can be easily explained as referring to coins of the Sassanian type, particularly of the reverse-type of the fire-altar flanked by an attendant on either side, but struck in India. That the coins in question have nothing to do with the Sassanian coinage, even with the satrapal coinage, is absolutely certain.

All these coins of the Piplaj hoard are without legend or symbol of any type whatsoever; the presumed obverse marks, as given on p. 99 of *The Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, vol. VII, parts I & II, seem to be only *traits* pertaining to the extremely rough outlines of a bust, facing right, even in spite of the learned note of the Chief Editor[1] (*ibid.*, p. 99, note 1).

The reverse of these coins, **Pl. VIII B**, Fig. 1, as deduced from four well preserved coins, is comparable to that of a coin of the Major General A. Cunningham's Collection, illustrated in his *Coins of Mediæval India* pl. VI, No. 14 etc. and reproduced here in **Pl. VIII B, 14**. It is derived from the reverse of the coins of the Sassanian king Firuz, through the intermediary of the reverse of the Hephthalite coin No. 3 of pl. IV, facing p. 36 of *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. VII, parts I & II.

It seems that Indo-Sassanian coins are degenerate specimens of the Hephthalite coinage, once current in India as far east as Rajputana and Malwa. From the standpoint of the more or less summary treatment of their obverse and reverse types, these Indo-Sassanian coins can be classed into three groups: the first group comprising the coins of the Uruli hoard, discovered at Uruli in Poona district in September 1944 (cf. pl. III, facing p. 20 of *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. VII, parts I and II), the second group comprising thick pieces of the *Gadhaiya* type (cf. *Coins of the Mediæval India etc.*, pl. VI, No. 7), and the third group comprising coins of the Piplaj hoard.

[1. Recently some inscribed Gadhia coins were sent to me by Mr. Roshan Lal Samar of Udaipur. which had clearly engraved in front of the king's face legends like Śrīla....., Śrīhara, Śrīga.... Śrivara, Śribha..., etc. It is thus clear that the symbol in question can be *aha* also, since it resembles that letter most convincingly. I had sent rubbings of these coins to Dr. Unvala for his consideration, but he replied saying 'I am still inclined to consider the symbol as part of the obverse motif, the counterpart of the filet on the left, of course in the contrary sense, whose beginnings we find in the flat and thin series.' I personally hold that the discovery of a fairly large number of inscribed Gadhia pieces now makes it almost certain that the symbol in question is the letter *ha*, being the initial of the issuer's name. A paper on these new coins will appear in due course in this *Journal*. *A. S. A.*]

As regards the obverse of Indo-Sassanian coins, the treatment of the wings of the crown on coins of the Uruli hoard reminds us of the obverse of the Hephthalite coins, illustrated in *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. IV, part I, pl. IV, Nos. 12 and 13. On coins of the first and second group, i.e. on those of the Uruli hoard and the *Gadhaiya* ones, the element shaped like an inverted S over the right shoulder of the prince is repeated in the reversed sense, i.e. like an S over the left shoulder for the sake of symmetry as on Sassanian seals, especially on seals with monograms. It represents most probably the undulated stem of a flower as on a Hephthalite coin, illustrated in *Numismatic Chronicle*, London 1894, Series III, vol. XIV, pl. XI, No. 10, or rather the filet of the diadem as on Sassanian coins.

The reverse of these coins shows two types, one with the fire-altar without attendants, the other on which the fire-altar is flanked on either side by an attendant. The first type is found on coins of the Uruli hoard and on those of the *Gadhaiya* series. On the former, the fire-altar is figured as consisting of a pedestal with three graded steps, a short shaft, indicated either by a six-rayed star as on the Uruli coins or by the sign of multiplication as on *Gadhaiya* coins,[1] and the fire-receptacle, indicated also by three graded steps by way of symmetry. The flame is represented by three rows of dots, surmounted by one elongated dot. The roundness of the receptacle seems to have been suggested by two curved lines. Two slantic rows of dots on either side represent the filets fluttering downwards with which the shaft is decorated ; by way of symmetry, two slantic lines, directed upwards are added on either side (see **Pl. VIII B, 7**, reproduced from *Coins of the Mediæval India etc.*, Pl. VI, No. 7). The Uruli coins show even the crescent on right and the star on left of the flame which are common on late Sassanian coinage. The second type of the reverse is found on the coins of the Piplaj hoard, as mentioned above. But here it is highly stylised, the attendants holding the lance (see *J. Num. Soc. India*, vol. IV, part I, pl. III, nos. 1—8) are shown only by three vertical rows of blurred dots. The two curved lines indicating the roundness of the receptacle on Uruli coins are also found on those of the Piplaj hoard.

The Uruli coins are certainly earlier than those of the Piplaj hoard, as the treatment of the details of their obverse and reverse show. The latter can be dated later than the eigth century A.D.

The weight of well preserved coins varies between 3 .316 gm. and 4.11 gm.

1. Compare with this fire-altar, the one depicted on *Coins of the Mediæval India etc.*, pl. VI, No. 13 and reproduced here in Pl, VIII B, No. 13.

A HITHERTO UNIDENTIFIED MUGHAL MINT-TOWN: DALĪPNAGAR.

MR. D. N. MARSHALL, M. A., BOMBAY.

About three years ago, Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala, a senior and enthusiastic member of the Numismatic Society of India, brought to my notice a Mughal coin in his possession, mint-town whereof he could not find in the hitherto published lists of Mughal mint-towns. On a careful scrutiny of the literature available on the subject, it was found that save for its mention by Mr. P. C. Tarapore in the paper contributed by him, in 1930, to the Numismatic Supplement to Vol. XXVI of the Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,[1] no references to this mint town were available. Even in that paper, a coin of S͟hāh Ālam II bearing the name of this mint-town is, among others, just described, and a bald statement is added that "if the reading of the Mint is correct, this is a new Mint." No further details are given, and this mint-town, so far, therefore, has remained unidentified.

The coin in the possession of Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala is described below and illustrated in **Plate XI**; The size is enlarged four times for the facility of reading.

AR. wt.: 173·5 grains; size: 1·8 c. m
Mint: Dalipnagar; Date: 1178 A.H. 6 R.

(شاہ)	(مانوس)
(د)ین محمد عالم	میمنت
۱۱۷۸ M. M. 1	سنۂ ۶ جلوس
(سا)یۂ فضل الله حامی	ضرب
(از) دین	M. M. 2
	دلیپ نگر

On a reference to the plate, it will be observed that the *nuqtas* of ی (ye) or پ (pe) in the word دلیپ نگر (Dalīpnagar) have not been all struck on the coin itself. Only two *nuqtas* seem to have been cut on the very edge near the base. On comparison with the reverse of the coin referred to by Mr. P. S. Tarapore,[2] it will be seen that the calligraphy in the case of the coin under discussion is more elegant and the outlines of the letters of the mint-town are clearer. Doubts may arise in view of the missing *nuqtas*, and some alternative readings can be suggested. This question, however, will be discussed

1 *NS*, XLIII, (306), 1930, p. 5[illegible], coin No. 13.
2 See Plate 5, No. 15, *NS*, XLIII, 1930.

presently, but, in the meantime, let us examine the obverse side. Whereas no date is given on the coin described by Mr. P. S. Tarapore,[1] on this coin, on the obverse side, the date 1178 (AH) is clearly given. This date will be a guide to us in examining the movements of Shāh Alam just about this period and in ascertaining whether he had any connection at the time with this mint-town.

As regards ornamental marks, on the obverse, just above ح of حامی there is M. M. 1 (vide Pl. XI), while over ی in the same word, there is a circular cluster of five dots with the sixth in the centre. On the reverse, over س of سنة there is a circular cluster of five dots, over و of جلوس there is a cluster of three dots, and over ی of دلیپ نگر there is M. M. 2 (vide Pl. XI). *Nuqtas* and letters not clear on the coin are enclosed within parenthesis in the above reproduction. Besides the nuqtas of the word دلیپ نگر, a noteworthy omission is the word شاہ before عالم, but the letters cut on the upper edge indicate its likely presence on the original die used for the coin. All these facts of internal evidence will be discussed later. First, let us attempt to sift external evidence as may enable us to locate the mint-town and identify it.

On a reference to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, we find that there is a place by the name of Dalīpnagar.[2] It seems it is a variant of Dhulīpnagar,[3] a name sometimes applied to Bannu town in the North-West Frontier Province. This town was founded in 1848 by Lieut. (afterwards Sir Herbert) Edwardes, and the fort, erected at the same time, bore the name of Dhulīpgarh (or Dalīpgarh) in honour of the Maharaja of Lahore. The bazar was also known as Dhulīpnagar (or Dalīpnagar).[4] The date of its foundation, however, rules it out of consideration for our purpose.

On a reference to provincial and state gazetteers, it is found that in Central India (to be more exact, Bundelkhand), the town of Datiā, which is the chief town of the state bearing that name, was known locally as Dalīpnagar. It was founded by Dalpat Rāo (1643-1707), who was the head of the State from 1683 to 1707, and called after his *rashi* name[5]. Certain connected facts in this regard are noteworthy. About the year 1760, Emperor Shāh Ālam II visited Bundelkhand and received the Orchhā and Datiā chiefs at Bāndā when the title of Rājā was conferred on Indrajīt, the ruler of Datiā. He was given, at the same time, a *takht-i-rawān* (or a portable throne), two royal

1. *N.S.*, XLIII, 1930, p. 59, coin No. 13.
2. *Imperial Gazetteer* (New edition) : Vol. XXV-Index, Oxford 1908, p. 146.
3. *Ibid*, Vol. XXV, p. 159.
4. *Ibid*, Vol. VI, p. 402
5. Central India State Gazetteer Series : Vol. VI.A- Text, Eastern States (Bundelkhand), 1907, p. 93, and p. 127.

standards, and *Arabi bājas* or Mughal band instruments[1]. The neighbouring Orchhā State also was treated similarly by Shāh Ālam II, and the title of *Māhendra* was bestowed upon Sāwant Singh, the head of that State[2].

Sir Jadunath Sarkar refers to the campaign of Shāh Ālam in Bundelkhand in the year 1762. He describes the progress of this campaign and mentions that "the Bundela chiefs of Urchhā and Datiā sent tribute to their sovereign[3]." These states previously owed allegiance to the Marathas but were showing restlessness[4] and ultimately broke themselves free from Maratha overlordship. In another source, we find it stated that "Most of the ruling Chiefs of Bundelkhand now sent in congratulatory messages and presents, and some of the most important among them, such as Rajah Savant Singh of Orchha and Rajah Indrajit Singh of Datia, came in person and waited upon the Wazir and the Emperor. A few *parganahs* of each of the two states Orchha and Datia were taken out of Rajahs' hands and annexed to the Empire, and Shuja-ud-daulah appointed officers to take charge of them, while they (the Rajahs) were confirmed in the possession of the bulk of their territories".[5]

There is further corroborative evidence that in these parts Mughal suzerainty was established at this time. In *Chahār Gulzār-i-Shujāī*, written by Harī Charan Dās, a contemporary historian, whose work though somewhat discursive, is deemed to be of value,[6] description is given as to how Emperor Shāh Alam accompanied by Shujā-ud-daulah went towards Jhansi,[7] Kalinjar[8] and the countryside around and the nature of success that the expedition met with. It is stated therein: "The districts of Jhansi, Kalpi,[9] etc., which belonged to the Bundelas and others, were after many battles and struggles taken from them, and annexed to the dominions of the Emperor and Nawab Shujā-ud-daula...........Afterwards

1. *Ibid*: p 101.
2. *Ibid*: p. 35
3. *The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, by Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Vol. II: 1754-1771, Calcutta 1934, p. 544.
4. *Selections from the Peshwa Daftar*, Vol. XXVII, Nos: 8,132 and 273; see also: Vol. XXIX, No. 12.
5. *Shuja-ud-daulah* by A. L. Srivastava, Vol. I: 1754-1765, Calcutta 1939, p. 142.
6. *The History of India*, as told by its own Historians-Muhammadan Period, by H. M. Elliot and J. Dowson, Vol. VIII, London 1877, p. 206.
7. The boundaries of Datiā State and Jhansi District are contiguous at present.
8. It is one of the well-known eight strongholds of Bundelkhand. See Central India State Gazetteer Series, Vol. VI.-A, p. 9.
9. "When the Marathas acquired part of Bundelkhand early in the 18th century, Kalpi became the headquarters of their Governor." vide. *Imperial Gazetteer* (new edition), Vol. XIV, p. 318.

'they crossed the Ganges and proceeded to Mahdi-ghat, where they encamped in 1177 A. H. (1763 A. D.)".[1]

But apart from the external evidence detailed above, we have internal evidence as well and to this we now turn. In the description of the coin, given in para 2, it was stated that the coin bears the year in which it was struck as 1178 A. H., i.e., 1764 A. D. This year closely follows 1760-63, the period during which, according to the historical evidence indicated above, Datiā and parts around came under the sway of the Mughals. It would be, therefore, in fitness of things were Shāh Ālam, who was a fugitive then and had in fact a very restricted area of territory to call his own, to establish in his freshly acquired domains a mint of his own, or to issue fresh coinage directly under his authority to circulate in these territories so as to impress upon his new subjects his suzerain powers.

Another and more direct item of internal evidence lies in the symbolic marks found on the coin. Of those described in para 3 above, some are for the purposes of ornamentation so familiar in the coins of the Mughal period. These are the three separate clusters of three, five and six points, respectively, resembling different forms of an asterisk. They occur on both the sides of the coin. The other two marks, however, do not seem to be merely ornamental. On the obverse, as has been described already, over ح of the word حامی, there occurs the sprig like symbol shown as M. M. 1 (vide Pl. XI). This is similar to the symbolic mark of Datiā as given in 'Index IV—Ornaments and Symbols' appended to Vol. IV of the catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[2] In the same catalogue, coin No. 8 in plate XX, which is a coin of Datiā, portrays on its obverse a symbol similar to this. There too it is over ح of حامی. In the catalogue itself in describing coins of Datiā, on the obverse of twelve of them, in the formula فضل الله حامی a similar symbol is reproduced between the words الله and حامی.[3] Though the twelve coins bear no mint-name[4] and as such it is not possible to say very definitely that this mint-mark is of Dalīpnagar mint, this further evidence confirms the identification of Dalīpnagar as a town in Datiā State.

The cataloguer, in his introductory note, states that in Datiā State two distinct types of coin are reputed to have been struck—the Rājā Shāhi and the Gaja Shāhi.[5] The latter imitates the coins of Orchha State, which at present is separated

1. Translated extracts from Elliot & Dowson, Vol. VIII, p. 215.

2. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Calcutta, Vol. IV Native States, edited by J. Allan, Oxford 1928, p. 372.

3. *Ibid* : p. 294.

4. *Ibid* : p. 293.

5. *Ibid* : p. 293.

from Datiā State only by a narrow strip of British territory not more than 15 miles in width wherein lies the city of Jhansi.[1] The other type—the Rājā Shāhi—"is an imitation", the cataloguer continues, "of a coin struck by Shāh Alam at an unknown mint, with the date 1178 and of the sixth year of his reign."[2] Mark the words : 'an imitation of', 'an unknown mint', 'the date 1178' and 'the sixth year of his reign'. The coin under discussion bears the date 1178 and was struck in the sixth year of Shāh Alam's reign. Is Dalīpnagar then the unknown mint ? And are these twelve coins of Datiā in imitation of the coin of Shāh Alam now under discussion ? Evidence points to favour an answer in the affirmative and lends confirmation to the identification of Dalīpnagar as Datiā.

Let us now turn to the last symbolic mark. This is found on the reverse of the coin. This symbolic mark is assigned to Jhansi in Index IV attached to Vol. IV of the Catalogue already referred to.[3] The distance between the town of Jhansi and the town of Datiā is 16 miles only by the railway as given in the Indian Bradshaw, and, therefore, the location of Dalīpnagar in parts round about Datiā again receives confirmation. But in view of this mark of Jhansi, doubts may be raised whether Dalīpnagar is Datiā town itself. Let us attempt to see if these doubts can be removed.

It is not unusual to find more than one symbolic mark on one and the same coin. L. White King in his paper on the History and Coinage of Malwa says : "These marks are found sometimes on one side of the coin only and sometimes on both, while a few coins are ornamented with as many as three symbols."[4] There are also instances of coins of Shāh Alam having more than one mint-mark given by Valentine.[5] Prinsep, in discussing the symbols on Shāh Alam's coins, states that in fixing the localities of coins, there is an advantage in consulting such symbolic marks. He points out a further advantage when he states that "they enable us at once to class together various coins as having been issued by the same authority."[6] The possibilities in the present case suggested by the presence of dual mint-marks are : (i) that on this coin, this symbolic mark is not representing Jhansi, but is either an additional mint mark of Dalīpnagar or a mere ornamental sign,

1. Vide map attached to the District Gazetteer of the United Provinces, Vol. XXIV—Jhansi, Allahabad 1909.

2. *I. M. C.*, Calcutta, Vol. IV, 1928, p. 293.

3. Ibid : p. 372.

4. *Num. Chr.*, Fourth Series, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 67.

5. *Copper Coins of India*, Part I, by W. H. Valentine, London 1914, p. 98, coin No. 61 ; see also p. 120, coins Nos, 217-222.

6. *Useful Tables* illustrative of the Coins, Weights and Measures of British India, by James Prinsep, ed. by E. Thomas, London 1858, pp. 89-40.

which, later, as occurring on Datiā coins then in active circulation in and around Jhansi, came to be adopted by Jhansi as its mint-mark ; (ii) that it is a bi-mintal coin, examples of which during the Mughal period have been found,[1] and the mark of Jhansi is in token of the part struck at Jhansi mint ; or (iii) that this coin was issued from Dalīpnagar, as the mint-name indicates, by an authority which then held sway over Jhansi as well.

Let us examine the evidence to ascertain which of these three possibilities is the most probable. Let us first try to find out if this mark on the date on which this coin was issued was a mint-mark of Jhansi. If the answer is in the affirmative. the first possibility will fall through, and we will then examine if the second or the third will apply in this case. If, however, the answer is in the negative, the solution is definite.

In regard to the mint mark of Jhansi (Balwantnagar), the facts are that as early as 1904, Burn included Balwantnagar (local name of Jhansi) in the list of mints wherefrom coins were issued in the reigns of Emperors Ahmad Shāh Bāhādur, Ālamgīr II, and Shāh Ālam II.[2] He has also on the basis of description given by Rodgers referred to copper coins minted at Jhansi in the reign of Shāh Ālam II.[3] The copper coin described by Rodgers[4] is dated 1213 A.H. and being of such a later date is not useful for our discussion. Though Burn refers to the Balwantnagar coins of Ahmad Shāh Bāhādur's reign as being in the collection of H. Nelson Wright, the latter in his catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Vol. III-Mughal Emperors of India, does not describe nor mention any Mughal coin of Balwantnagar mint, perhaps, none being in the collection of the Indian Museum. Whitehead, in his catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum, notices coins of Balwantnagar of the reigns of Ahmad Shāh Bāhādur, Ālamgir II and Shāh Ālam II.[5] Except the Ālamgir coins, which bear a quatrefoil in the loop of س of جلوس none of them bear any mint-mark. In the catalogue of coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow, there are a number of coins of Balwantnagar mint.[6] Three of

1. See the *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp 50-52, where a bi-mintal coin of Shah Jahan is described.

2. *JASB*, Pt. I, Vol. LXIII. (1904), pp. 75-107.

3. See *JASB*, Pt. I, Vol. LXIV (1895) : Mogul Copper Coins by C. J. Rodgers, pp. 171-193 ; Plate XX, coin No. 103. See particularly p, 182 and p. 189.

4. *Ibid:* p. 182.

5. *P. M. C.*, Lahore, Vol. II-Mughal Emperors, Oxford 1914 - p. 353, p. 368 ; and p. 386 ; coin Nos. 2650, 2764-2765, and 2904-2906.

6. *Catalogue of Coins in the Provincial Museum, Lucknow*, Vol. II-The Mughal Emperors ed. by C. J. Brown, Oxford 1920, p. 366, p. 381, and pp. 407-408 : coin Nos. 4243-45, 4389-92, and 4659-66.

them of the reign of Ahmad Shāh Bahadur[1] have a quatrefoil on the obverse, and one[2] of the four of the reign of Alamgir II bear a slightly different quatrefoil on the reverse. The others have no mint mark. Of those of Shah Alam's reign, the only one which in date is earlier than the date of the coin in discussion is No. 4659. It is of the third regnal year and bears on the obverse a mint mark resembling a fish, quite a different mark from the one now being examined. Dr. Taylor[3] cites Balwantnagar as a mint town for the silver coins of Emperor Muhammad Shāh (1719-1748 A. D.), the information being based on a silver coin described by H. Nelson Wright in JASB, VI, 4, on p. 239 (NS, XIII, 78). Here, again, in the description, no mint mark is mentioned. The facts which emerge in respect of Jhansi (or Balwantnagar) mint, therefore, are that this mint started its career in an earlier reign, viz., that of Muhammad Shāh. Of the coins struck earlier than 1178 A. H. at this mint, none bear a mint-mark similar to the mint-mark on the coin under discussion. Of the coins described by Allan[4] bearing the mint-mark identical to the one on the coin under discussion, though one is assigned a provisional date 1174 A. H. it is not correct as the regnal year thereof suggested as third cannot be reconciled, Shāh Alam's date of accession being 4. v. 1173 A. H.[5] It seems to be a later issue and particularly as it bears in *balbodh* the numeral two on the obverse, it was probably issued from Balwantnagar mint when the Marathas had the authority over the mint.[6] The conclusion that is suggested, therefore, from the fact that this mint mark has not figured on the coins of Jhansi (or Balwantnàgar) of any date earlier than the date of the coin under discussion, is that the mint-mark was not on that date (1178 A.H.) a local mint-mark of Jhansi Under the circumstances, the first possibility of the three suggested above seems to be the most, probable, viz., that the mint-mark was at a later date copied from the non-local issue which was minted at Dalīpnagar (a neighbouring mint to Balwantnagar) and which was meant for circulation in Datiā and territories around.

In view of these facts, the doubts which we referred to as arising from the presence of the mint-mark of Jhansi are eliminated. To sum up, it may be asserted that in the light of

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1 Coin Nos. 4243-45, p. 366.
2 Coin No 4392,p. 381 .
3 *JASB*, X, 5, p. 189 (NS, XXII, Art. 127).
4. *I. M. C.*, Calcutta, Vol. IV—Native States, 1928, p. 346.

5. Prof. Hodiwala's contribution on the Chronology of the Mughal Emperors in his Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics, Calcutta, 1923, p. 288.

6. See "A Scrutiny of the Mints of Shah Alam II" by R. G. Gyani, in the Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda in 1933, Baroda 1935, p. 727.

the evidence cited above, the conclusion that is evident is that Dalīpnagar, the mint-town of the coin under review, is the same as the present town of Datiā.

The question to be discussed next is whether Dalīpnagar could be called a Mughal mint or it was only a mint town for the local issues of Datiā. Mr. R. G. Gyani has pointed out that coins were struck during the late Mughal period by the local authorities in the name of the Emperor from various mint towns with distinctive marks of their own, though the Emperor had no control over these mints.[1] In a paper ; "Remarks on the so-called 'Fish-hook' money", read by H. H. Wilson before the Numismatic Society, London, as early as on the 22nd December, 1853, he stated : "the coins of the last Shāh Alam of Delhi, although coined all over India continued to bear his name, and the mintage of Shāh-Jahanabad ; and the Company's rupee bore the legend, struck at Murshidabad, many years after it was coined at Calcutta."[2] Stanley Lane-Poole in his introduction to the Catalogue of Indian coins in the British Museum gives an expression to his own difficulty when he states that "It must be confessed, however, that the line between the local and imperial coinage is hard to draw during Shāh-Ālam's reign and some of the coins described under this Emperor might perhaps be classed with equal reason among the local issues."[3] The same difficulty has been echoed by others as well.[4] In a contribution on "Some Coins of the Mughal Emperors," Longworth Dames in 1902 indicated[5] the number of new Mughal mints brought to light since the publication of the British Museum Catalogue He was careful, however, to point out that on the decline of the Mughal Empire, many of the new states formed from its ruins, with a view to avail themselves " of the prestige still attached to the *Badshah*," continued to use on their coins the name of the reigning Emperor. Coins, therefore, struck in the name of the later Mughals should not be deemed in all cases to be struck under their authority. This very same point has been discussed by Johnson in 1903 in a paper on the "Coinage of the East India Company."[6] He refers to the difficulties presenting themselves in distinguishing between (i) the Mughal issues, (ii) the imitative issues of the East India Company

1. Vide his paper on 'A scrutiny of the Mints of Shāh-Ālam II' in the Proceedings of the Seventh Oriental Conference held at Baroda in 1933, pp. 725-728 ; see also *NS*. XLVI, (336), 1936, p. 100N.

2. *Num. Chr*, Vol. XVI, 1854, p. 181.

3. *The Coins of the Mughal Emperors af Hindustan in the British Museum*, by Stanley Lane-Poole, ed. by R. S. Poole, London 1892, p. cxix.

4. See p. vi of the preface by H. Nelson Wright to his Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. III-Mughal Emperors of India, Oxford 1908.

5. *Num. Chr.*, Fourth Series, Vol. II, 1902, pp. 275-309.

6. *Ibid*: Vol. III, 1903, pp. 71-98.

and (iii) the local coinage of states which attained during this period semi-independence but continued to coin in the name of Shāh Alam even after his death.

Undoubtedly, it is not easy to say conclusively in the case of coins of Shāh Ālam II, whether any particular coin is an imperial coin issued under the direct authority of the Emperor from a Mughal mint, or, is one of those independently issued by a local ruler from a mint of his own state. According to an estimate, prepared in 1914, in the reign of Shāh Alam the total number of mints known to be working was 87.[1] Since then, in the light of subsequent research it has risen, but even 87 exceeds the number of mints of other Mughal emperors in India. In the time of Akbar, despite the magnificent extent of his empire, there were 78 only.[2] This large number in the time of Shāh Alam, when the Empire was so attenuated, does, therefore, indicate some artificial inflation and suggests the desirability of careful scrutiny.

We have come across a reference made in 1938 by Mr. R. G. Gyani that "an overhauling re-examination" of coins assigned hitherto to later Mughals was in hand.[3] When the details on the completion of this re-examination are published, there may be perhaps definite principles laid down afresh for deciding whether a coin of the later Mughal period can be classified as a Mughal coin or a local issue. In the meantime, in the light of such details as we have, let us proceed to examine the coin under discussion and also having due regard to certain criteria laid down by Whitehead for adjudging imperial issues,[4] let us attempt a finding whether it is a Mughal coin or one of a local issue. On the basis of evidence before us, we are inclined to suggest that this particular coin is a Mughal coin. The arguments in support are given below.

In his history of Shujā-ud-daulah, based on original sources, Srivastava states[5] that "the fall of Jhansi and with it the northwestern corner of Bundelkhand proved to be an event of great political importance, and it had wide repercussions in and out of the land of the Bundela Rajputs. The Maratha expulsion from that corner of this wild region was looked upon as a definite triumph of the Mughal arms, and it aroused temporary hopes of the rejuvenation of the Empire."

1. Numismatic Supplement to *JRASB*, XXII, (127). 1913, p. 195-a very useful contribution by G. P. Taylor of Ahmedābād.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, 1939, p. 72.

4. See pp. vi-viii of *P. M. C.*, Lahore, Vol. II. Mughal Emperors, Oxford, 1914.

5. *Shuja-ud.daulah*, by A. L. Srivastava, Vol. I-1754-1765, Calcutta 1939, p. 142.

Rulers, near and distant, offered their allegiance or gave up their negative attitude of hostility or indifference to the Imperial throne. It was a psychological moment in the story of Shāh Ālam's attempts to re-establish the lost glories of the Great Mughals. As has been stated already, at the time when he brought parts of Bundelkhand under his sway and annexed some *parganahs* of Orchhā and Datiā to the Empire, he was a fugitive from his capital. These were his initial gains in his campaign to retrieve his lost position. It would be natural, therefore, were he, in the light of these circumstances, to resort to impress his regal authority by a fresh issue of his own coinage for circulation in a territory recently conquered by him.

The second point to take into account is that the coin bears marks which are similar to and were adopted later as the mint marks of Datiā and Jhansi both. So, obviously, as has been stated already, it could not belong to the local issues of either of these two. The dual mint-marks suggest that the issuing authority had at the time jurisdiction over both the principalities,[1] and, we have evidence that Emperor Shāh Alam had just then established such an authority over the territories of Datiā and Jhansi.

The third point to note is that while in the present case the mint town is mentioned, in the case of all the coins so far known and definitely assigned to Datia and whose details have been published,[2] there is no mention thereon of a mint town. As early as 1897, Dr. Hoernle described three coins of Datiā and illustrated them with plates in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[3] Later, in 1928, in the Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. IV-Native States,

1 For instances in support of this suggestion, see R. G. Gyani's paper on "Some rare and unpublished coins of the Sindhias," *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 72-80. Coin No. 4 is a coin of Sindhia with the additional mint-mark resembling that of Bhopal.

2 Besides those discussed in this paper, a reference to a coin of Datia is found to have been made by Mr. O. Codrington in his Notes on the Cabinet of Coins of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, published in the Journal of the said Society, Vol. XVIII: 1890-94, pp. 30-38. On p. 34, in the list of coins of Indian States, he refers to a certain variety of coins of Datiā as being in the possession of the Society. A personal visit to the rooms of the Society, however, and a request to the Librarian for permission to inspect the said coin proved unavailing. It seems that the existing lists in the possession of the Librarian did not disclose the presence of such a coin in the cabinet of the Society. In the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, however, Mr. Gyani was kind enough to show me the coins of Datia in his charge. There are 3 silver coins bearing the regnal year 6 but no definite *hijri* date nor any mint-town. They resemble the Raja Shahi type of Datia coins referred to by Allan in his Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. IV-Native States, on p. 293-296.

3 Notes on Coins of Native States by A. F. Rudolf Hoernle, *JASB*, LXVI, 1897, Part I, pp. 261-274: See coins Nos. 24-26 in Plates XXXI-XXXII.

28 different coins of Datiā have been described,[1] and three of them are illustrated. The first twelve of these later 28 are described by the cataloguer as 'Rājā Shāhī' type of coins, and, as we have already quoted above, he adds : "The 'Rājā Shāhī' is an imitation of a coin struck by Shāh Ālam at an unknown mint, with the date 1178 and of the sixth year of his reign."[2] Mark the words 'a coin struck by Shāh Ālam'. As we have asserted above, the description of the coin discussed in this paper fits in with the description of the coin that the cataloguer has given, except in regard to the mint which is now identified. It is reasonable, therefore, to conclude that this coin is the one struck by Shāh Ālam and to which the cataloguer has alluded.

The fourth point to note is that when the coins of Datiā, illustrated by Hoernle and in the Catalogue of the Indian Museum or which are in the possession of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, are examined and compared with the coin under discussion, the following facts emerge :

(i) the obverse and the reverse of the coins of Datiā locally issued, bear the word *'julus'* (جلوس) and a part of the formula-*'Allah hami'* (الله حامی) too prominently in bold outlines, with the rest of the words missing altogether or almost missing. In almost all cases, only a very fragmentary portion of the usual legend is evident on either side ;

(ii) the word *'julus'* (جلوس) is spelt in a distinctly queer fashion with the *'pish'* sign (ُ) glaringly prominent ;

(iii) the mint mark of Datiā, though retaining the same outline as in the coin under discussion, is slightly different and is connected fancifully in most cases with the outlines of the letters *'lam'* (ل) or *'he'* (ه) of the word Allah (الله) ;

(iv) the specimen of calligraphy in the case of Datiā coins is distinctly cruder and in some cases very inelegant ;

(v) in style and execution the coins of Datiā convey a poor impression as contrasted with the artistic elegance of the coin under review.

All these points show conclusively that the coin under discussion is distinctly of a type different from that of the coins catalogued and assigned to Datiā. It belongs to an earlier and better type and in style, execution and other points appro-

1. pp. 293-296 and plate XX. coins Nos 8-10. Only No. 8-the 'Rājā Shāhī' type is taken into consideration here, as the others are radically different in style and execution and belong to quite a different type, as pointed out by the Cataloguer.

2. p. 293.

ximates, if not equals, the standards we have come to associate with the coins issued from Mughal mints.

The inferiority of the local issues of Datiā is evident from the value which they could command in the open market. The following table gives a comparative idea of the respective values of the different types of coinage in circulation in one of the districts of the (as known then) North-Western Province of India in the middle of the last century. This territory was a neighbouring province to Datiā. The values in the table are in terms of one hundred rupees of the East India Company's issue and are taken from the Gazetteer of the said Province :[1].

Gwalior	Rs. 93	0	0	Gajashahi or Tehri	84	8	0
Chanderi	,, 93	0	0	Nanashahi or Jhansi	83	15	10
Rajashahi or Old Chatterpur	88	0	0	New Rajashahi or Datia	62	0	0
Srinagari	,, 87	10	8				

Mark the low value of new Rājāshāhī or Datia coins. Even the Rājāshāhī or old Chattarpur coins fetched only Rs. 88/- in terms of Rs. 100/- of the East India Company's coinage.

A further point to note is the statement made by Prinsep that the Datia mint dated from 1784.[2] This supports the suggestion made above that the local issues of Datia were later in time. It is possible that when it was started the issues therefrom were in imitation of certain imperial issues of Shāh Alam locally struck. An argument in support is available to prove this contention. On a personal inspection of the coins of Datiā in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, it was found that in an attempt to be very faithful to the original, the numerals of the *hijri* date 1176 which are on the original coin, were reproduced on the later coins. But not all were there, nor, those that were there were placed together. Such of them as were there were found to be scattered all over the surface. The consistent repetition, furthermore, of the sixth regnal year in all these later coins also suggests imitation.

There are further supporting facts as well. Webb says: "The coins of the Native States are fashioned in a rude way ....With very few exceptions, the coins bear only portions of the inscriptions carried by the dies."[3] There is a similar statement made by Mr. Gyani in describing certain coins of Sindhia. He says: "in a later stage these coins and specially

1. Statistical, Descriptive and Historical Account of the North Western Provinces of India by E. T. Atkinson, Vol. I—Bundelkhand, Allahabad, 1874, p. 223.

2. See : *Useful Tables*, etc.. ......London, 1858, p. 30.

3. *The Currencies of the Hindu States of Rajputana*, by W. W. Webb, Westminster, 1893, p. viii.

the copper coins had very little of the legend while the symbols occupied the prominent position."[1] Both these characteristics have been found on the coins of Datiā. We have seen that on them the legends are fragmentary and the symbols are made unduly prominent. The mint-mark and not the mint-name gives us the clue to the source of the coinage. All these traits are in perfect contrast to those of the coin under discussion. Therefore, it may be asserted that the latter, with its detailed legend and no undue prominence to the symbols, with its excellent calligraphy and elegant execution, belongs to an issue earlier than, and in type completely different from, the coins of Datiā.

Before concluding, let us review our findings in the light of what Whitehead has laid down[2] as the criteria for determining whether any particular issue of coinage is Imperial or not. According to him:

(i) they should be of the Imperial type and bear legible inscriptions ;

(ii) they should have legible mints, and their regnal and *hijri* dates should be in accord ;

(iii) local mint-marks, devices and symbols should be absent.

The Coin Conference held at Allahabad in December, 1910, wisely pointed out the desirability of scrutinizing additional features such as fabric and workmanship and local history of the place of issue. It was laid down that "fabric and workmanship of a coin, if crude and clumsy, would be evidence of origin other than imperial."[3] Further, that history must supply "corroborative evidence of a Mughal emperor having exercised direct control over the locality from which issued any coins assigned to him."[4] Ultimately, the Conference resolved that it would be advisable to regard all coins bearing the names of the Mughal emperors which were struck upto and including the year 1803 A.D. (or 1218 A.H.) as Mughal.[5] Though, the coin under discussion can be classified as Mughal in the terms of this resolution, we should not like to base our couclusion on such an elastic standard adopted more out of convenience than otherwise. Rather, let us analyse the intrinsic characteristics of the coin and then adjudge it. If we do so, we find that in type, the coin is similar to those confirmed as imperial coins. Secondly, it bears legible legend in a very elegant style, the mint-town is identified and the regnal and the *hijri* dates are in accord. Further, the fabric and workmanship are not crude

1. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol, I, 1939, p. 77.
2. *Vide* pp. vi-viii of the Preface to P. *M. C.*, Lahore.
3. *Ibid* : p. vii. 4. *Ibid.* 5. *Ibid.*

and clumsy, but bear similarity to imperial standards.[1] And lastly, local history supplies corroborative evidence of Shāh Alam, at that time, exercising suzerain authority in Datiā and parts around.

The only criterion of Whitehead, which apparently seems to have not been satisfied, is in respect of the mint-marks. But, in this regard, too, it has to be remembered that Datiā mint as pointed out above dates from 1783, that is fifteen years after the year in which this coin was issued. And the mint mark, therefore, in 1768 was not local, as no local coinage had then been issued under that mark. We have no example of a Datiā coin of a year earlier than 1768 A. D. The evidence, in fact, that the local issues of Datiā were later and in imitation of a coin struck by Shāh Alam has already been cited. Furthermore, the mint mark on this coin is very similar to, but is not the same as that of Datiā, there being a slight difference in the curve of the base line. This difference seems to support the fact of later and cruder imitation.

We have already proved that the mint mark of Jhansi on the coin was not local on the date of the issue of this coin. Both the mint-marks having thus been found to be not local at the time the coin was issued, the criterion of Whitehead in this respect can be said to have been satisfied. So a scrutiny in the light of the criteria laid down by Whitehead favour the classification of this coin as an imperial coin.

Having regard to all the evidence discussed above, it may be asserted, therefore, that the coin does not belong to the local issues of Datiā but is a Mughal coin struck under the authority of the Mughal Emperor, Shāh Ālam II. Consequently, Dalīpnagar whereat it was struck could be classified as a Mughal mint on that date. It may be added, however, that it is possible that Dalīpnagar is an instance of a transitional mint,[2] which, though first started as a Mughal mint, perhaps, soon ceased to be as such[3] and was restarted as a mint for local issues in 1784 with perhaps, the permission of the Emperor.[4]

In conclusion, I wish to thank Dr. P. M. Joshi and his assistant, Mr. Narvekar, for making available to me the

1. In this connection, the weight of the coin (178·5) has to be noted particularly.

2. For similar instances of transitional mints, see the author's introduction to the Catalogue of the coins of Mughal Emperors in the British Museum by S. Lane Poole, pp. cix-cxiv.

3. The suggestion is based on the fact that no coin of any other date minted at Dalipnagar is found yet as having been issued between 1768 (the date of this coin) and 1784 (the date of establishment of Datia mint).

4. See Prinsep : *Useful Tables.* etc. p. 27 where he states : 'The petty Raja of Datia was indignant at the suggestion that he had opened his mint without authority.'

valuable resources of the University Library under their charge. I am also grateful to Mr. R. G. Gyani for permitting me the inspection of the Datia coins in the collection of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and for making arrangements for the plaster-casts and estampages of the coin. And, lastly, I wish to take this opportunity to place on record in public my deep debt of gratitude to Mr. Vicaji D. B. Taraporewala for providing, so constantly, inspiration and encouragement in my cultural activities. My justification in making this personal reference is due to my feeling that his never failing enthusiasm for and his public munificence in aid of cultural activities have not received the due recognition.

A NEW MUGHAL MINT

By Dr. Panna Lall, C.S.I., C.I.E., I.C.S., (Retd.)

Sometime back during my travels in South India, I had the good fortune to visit the Rajaram College at Kolhapur, where Prof. Kudangar, the Director of the Archæological Department, showed me some objects which had been discovered during excavations at Brahmapuri near Kolhapur. Among other things, six silver coins appeared to me to be of interest, bearing, as they did, names of rare mints, one almost certainly a hitherto-unknown mint. By the kind offices of the Hon'ble The Resident, these coins were lent to me for detailed examination and are described below in chronological order.

No. 1. Silver coin of the Mughal Emperor Shāh 'Alam Bahādur.

(A, H. 1119-1124 ; A. D, 1707-1712)

Mint, Karimābād; *r. y.* 2; *wt.* 177 grs.; size ·8″

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
شاهغازے	سنه ۲ جلوس
شاهعالم باد	کریم اباد
سکه	ضرب

(Pl. XII, 1)

This coin is much like Lucknow Museum coin No. 3517. There are coins of the regnal year 3 in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Nos. 1684 and 1685).

Nos. 2-3. Silver coins of the Mughal Emperor Muḥammad Shāh.

(A. H. 1131-1161 ; A. D. 1719-1748)

Mint No. 2, Kolāpur ; *r. y.* 8 ; wt. 178 grs.; size 9″

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
محمد	میمنت
بادغاز	سنه ۸ جلوس
	ضرب
محمدسا	کولا پور

(Pl. XII, 2)

No. 3. Ditto Ditto

Mint Kolāpur ; *r. y.* 8 ; 1139 H.; wt. 176 grs.; size 1″

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
محمد سا	میمنت مانوس
سا	سنه ۸ جلوس
باد غازی	ضرب
سکه	کولاپور
مبارک ۱۱۳۹	

(Pl. XII, 3)

This coin is fortunately in a very good state of preservation and gives the complete legend, the mint name being quite clear. There can be no doubt that it is Kolāpur, and not Korāpur ; the relative position and size of the strokes of the letter *l* and *ā* make this unmistakable.

Again this can have no connexion with coins of mint Kora which freely appears on the silver coins of Rafī-'ud-darjāt, Muḥammad Shāh and others down to Shāh 'Ālam II. That mint name is invariably written as *Kora* without the Saffix *pūr*.

It is interesting to note that Kolāpur, or Kolhāpur (Kollāpuram) is an old and important town in Southern India. The Chola king Rājendradeva II (*circa* 1052-63 A.D.), while at war with the Chālukyas, pressed on to Kolhapur and planted a *Jayastambha* there[1] (See V. Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, Vol. I. p. 227, No. 857).

No. 4. Silver coin of Muḥammad Shāh,

Mint Sakākul; *r. y.* 10. ; 1141 H. ; wt. 178 grs. ; size ·85″

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
محمد شاه	میمنت مانوس
ادشاه غازے	سنه ۱۰ جلوس
سکه مبارک	ضرب
	سکاکل ۱۱۴۱

(Pl. XII, 4)

Coins of this mint issued by Aurangzeb and Jahāndār Shāh are known and are in the Hyderabad Museum, but no coins of Muḥammad Shāh of this mint has hitherto been known. It may be identified with Chicacole, an ancient place in the Ganjam District of the Orissa Province, whose ruler like other rulers of the Dakshiṇāpatha, was subjugated by the Emperor Samudragupta, as recorded among his exploits on his Allahabad pillar inscription.

Nos. 5-6. Silver coins of Muḥammad Shāh.

No. 5 Mint Tārāmatī or Tārāmaṭhī ; *r. y.* 18 with device ग on reverse ; wt. 176 grs ; size ·9″

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1. [A branch of the Śilāhāra dynasty was ruling here during the 11th and 12th centuries as a feudatory of the Chālukyas. The antiquity of the place however goes to a much earlier period. At the same place where the coins described in this paper, were unearthed, was discovered a big hoard of the coins of the Sātavāhana period with the bow and arrow device, which are attributed by some to the Sātavāhana rulers and by others to their feudatories (Rapson, *Catalogue of the coins of the Āndhras, Kshatrapas*, p. lxxxvi, plates, I and II). The *Padmapurāṇa* refers to this city as Karavīra in *Uttara Kh.*, ch. 74) and it is known by that alternative name even today. *A. S. A.*]

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
بادشاہ غازے	میمنت مانو
ک	سنہ ۱۸ جلوس
سکہ مبار	ضرب تارامتی

(Pl. XII. 5)

In the reign of Muḥammad Shāh, several states assumed independence and struck coins on the pattern of the Mughal coinage but introducing various devices and distinctive marks of their own.

No. 6. Another silver coin of Muḥammad Shāh.
Mint Tārāmatī ; *r. y.* 18 ; wt. 1765 grs ; size ·9″

Obverse.	*Reverse.*
محمد سا	میمنت
بادساہ غاے	سنہ ۱۸ جلوس
ـــ	تارا متی
سکہ مبارک	

(Pl. XII, 6)

The mint Tārāmatī, or Tārāmaṭhī is as yet unidentified

I am much obliged to my friend Rai Bahadur Prayag Dayal Sahib for help in the preparation of this note and to Dr. V. S. Agarwal of the Museum of Central Asian Antiquities, New Delhi, for the photographs of the coins.

DISCOVERY OF THE FATHABAD MINT

BY PRIN. H. K. SHERWANI, NEW DELHI.

It was with some interest that the readers of this esteemed *Journal* read Captain Tarapore's article on *The Identification of the Bahmani Mint at Fathabad* on p. 47 of the Vol. VII of the *Journal.* It is the misfortune of the writer of this note that his book "Maḥmūd Gāwān, the Great Bahmanī Wazīr" should not have found its way to Captain Tarapore's table; otherwise he would have found the following clear footnote on p. 58, which might have saved him the trouble of penning the article in question.

"44. See *Report of the Hyderabad Archæological Department*, 1329 F., pp. 52-53. The situation of Fatḥābād was long a mystery. Khāfī Khān, Mutakhabu'l-Lubāb, ed. Haig, III, 426, 436, says that Lāling near Dhulia was renamed Fatḥābād owing to the victory over Khāndesh in 1378. But a frontier town would hardly be a place where a mint would be situated. Moreover the Fatḥābād coins all belong to the reign of Muḥammad Shāh I, while we know of no victorious battle fought at Lāling till the reign of 'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad II. There is, of course, another place, Dhārūr, which was also known as Fathābād, but we do not come across this *'urf* till the reign of Shāh Jahān. A third would be Fathābād, half way between Aurangābād and Manmad, but the difficulty was that there were no remains of any description there. The difficulty in the way of the identification of the Mint has been solved by the decided reference in ***Burhānu'l-Maāṣir*** p. 17 that Daulatabad was renamed Fatḥābād.

There are only eight Fathabad coins extant: 2 in the Hyderabad Museum, 2 in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, and 4 in the British Museum, all of them belonging to the reign of Muhammad Shah I."

It is also slightly surprising that while Mr. Shamsu'l-lah Qadiri had definite recourse to *Mahmud Gawan* as far back as 1943, he should have made no mention of the matter to Captain Tarapore, who says that he was assisted by him in the compilation of the article.

The present writer might take leave to mention that practically all known numismatic evidence, so far as it has a bearing on the Bahmani Dynasty, has been discussed and utilised in his forthcoming book, *The Bahmanis and their Culture*

Capt. P. S. Tarapore's reply

In the above note Professor Sherwani draws attention to a note on page 58 of his book *Mahmud Gawan*, in which the identity of Daulatabad with Fathabad is established on the authority of a passage in the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir*. Incidentally, the professor regrets that his book, which was issued in 1943, did not find its way to my table. How far this is relevant will be seen later on. As far back as 1942 in a rejoinder to Mr. C. R. Singhal, published in the *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. IV of 1942 (page 67 line 19), I had occasion to allude to the identity of Fathabad mint with Daulatabad. This was based upon information given to me in 1940 by my friend Mr. Shamshulla Qadiri, but I was not able to procure an accurate translation of the Persian text of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* at that time.

My article of 1945 was based upon the translation by Major J. S. King given in his book *The History of the Bahmani Dynasty founded on the Burhan-i-Ma'asir* published in the year 1900. This publication is well known to many scholars, but copies are hard to procure.

I am grateful to Professor Sherwani for having raised this subject, as I have again carefully examined Major King's translation on this particular point. The passage referring to Fathabad will also be found on page 145, Vol. XXVIII of *The Indian Antiquary* for June 1899, from which it might be inferred that Kalliani and not Daulatabad was renamed Fathabad. In the index of this Volume, page 335, it is also shown "Fathabad-Kalyan". But Major King's publication subsequently issued in 1900, mentioned above, does not contain in its index any such reference to Fathabad being the same as Kalyan. The explanation would appear to be that the compiler of The *Indian Antiquary* adopted the former view and made the entry in the index accordingly. The omission of such an entry in the index of Major King's publication of 1900 does not warrant any such conclusion.

The Persian text of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* must therefore remain the authority on which the renaming of Daulatabad as Fathabad is based. The sense of the narrative in this text definitely leads to the view that Daulatabad was the place renamed Fathabad by Alauddin Bahman Shah I.

BAYANA HOARD OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares Hindu University.

In my presidential address, I have given in this number on pp. 96-98 a brief account of the Gupta coins found in Bharatpur state from the information that I could gather at Patna from different sources. Later on I had an opportunity to examine and classify this hoard at Bharatpur, thanks to the kindness of H. H. Sri Brajendra Sawai Brajendra Singhji Bahadur Bahadur Jung, the Maharaja-saheb of Bharatpur. Owing to other engagements I could devote only five days to the work and make only a preliminary classification. Some of the coins were not properly cleansed, and it was hoped that some further coins might become available. Originally the hoard consisted probably of about 2200 coins, of which some were melted down and some concealed. Bharatpur government could eventually recover as many as 1788; it is possible that some more may become available. A complete classification will therefore be done later, probably in the month of October 1947. I hope to publish a detailed paper, illustrated with plates, describing all the unique and rare coins. The Bharatpur government hopes to prepare a complete catalogue of this unique hoard, giving a scientific and accurate description of each coin. Both these will however take some time. As the hoard is the biggest one to be discovered and recovered, there must be the natural curiosity to have a preliminary account of it, and of its rare and unique types. I am accordingly giving below its preliminary classification, based upon my rough notes taken during my five days' stay at Bharatpur. Kumāragupta is apparently the last king represented in the hoard ; it is possible that the single coin of the *Chhatra* type with the legend Kramāditya may have been issued by his son Skandagupta either as Yuvarāja or as emperor. The hoard therefore seems to have been buried towards the end of the reign of Kumāragupta or the beginning of that of Skandagupta, when person and property had become unsafe in northern U.P., and Rajputana owing to the Hūṇa invasion.

It may be incidentally observed that the coins in this hoard are probably greater in number than all the Gupta gold coins in all the museums in the world. This is the first occasion when so big a hoard of Gupta coins has become available for classification and study. The numismatic world will feel very grateful to His Highness the Maharajasaheb of Bharatpur for recovering nearly 90% of the coins of the hoard. We all are now looking with great eagerness to the publication of the complete and scientific catalogue of the hoard which H.H. the Maharaja Saheb hopes to bring out in the near future.

BAYANA HOARD: PRELIMINARY CLASSIFICATION.

Chandragupta I: 10 coins

Types.		No. in the hoard.
King and Queen type.		10

Samudragupta: 173 coins

Types.		No. in the hoard.
Standard type.		136
Var. A. (Legend at I).	116	
Var. B. (Legend at VII).	20	
N. B. About a dozen coins are rather small in size.		
Battle-axe type.		8
Var. A. With *Samudra.*	7	
Var. B. With *Kṛi.*	1	
Lyrist type.		7
Var. A. (Large size). RARE.	2	
Var. B. (Small size). RARE.	5	
Tiger-slayer type. RARE.		2
Var. A. With *Rājā Samudraguptaḥ.*	1	
Var. B. With *Vyāghraparākramaḥ* on both sides.	1	
Archer type. RARE.		2
Aśvamedha type.		18
Var. A. Legend beginning at I.	8	
Var. B. Legend beginning at VIII. NEW VARIETY.	8	
Var. C. Legend beginning at VI. NEW VARIETY.	2	

Kāchagupta: 15 Coins

Types.		No. in the hoard.
Chakradhvaja type.		15

Chandragupta II: 961 Coins

Types.		No. in the hoard.
Archer type.		790

Types.		No. in the hoard.
Class I : Throne reverse.		42
Var. A. *Chandra* under l. arm	25	
Var. B. *Chandra* between bow and bowstring	8	
Var. C. King to l., holding bow by the middle	6	
Var D. As above, but king looking to r.	1	
Var. E. Goddess on backless throne	2	
Class II : Lotus reverse		748
Var. A. *Chandra* under l. arm ; most common	708	
Var. B. *Chandra* between bow and bow-string, NEW	1	
Var. C. King holding bow in r. hand	2	
Var. D. Bow in l. hand held at the top, but king looking r.	2	
Var. E. King to l., holding bow by the middle and looking l.	3	
Var. F. Ditto, but king looking r.	4	
Var. G. King to l. but facing r. and holding the bow at the top	15	
Var. H. With crescent on Garuḍa	12	
Var. I. Lakshmī seated on a lotus, but with one leg tucked up.	1	
Horseman type.		77
King with bow and arrow; (in 3 coins king is to l., in one to r.)	4	
King with sword only. (In 28 coins horse is to r., 19 being with and 9 without symbols. In 24 coins horse is to l., 22 being with symbols and 2 without symbols.)	52	
Unclassified	21	
***Chhattra* type.**		54
Class I : With legend, *Mahārājādhirāja—Śrī-Chandraguptaḥ.*	4	
Class II ;		
Var. A. With the legend *Kshitimavajitya*	13	
Var. B. With the legend *Kshiti . . Kramādityaḥ*	13	
Var. C. Goddess walking l.	24	

Types.		No. in the hoard.
Lion-slayer type.		37
Lion-trampler Variety	22	
Lion-combatant Variety	15	

N. B. On 27 coins king is to l., and on 10 to r.

Couch type.		2
Var. A. (With no legend under the couch)	1	
Var. C. With the legend, *Bhāgavatamahā*	1	
Chakravikrama type.		1

[Obv. King to l. receiving a present from Vishṇu with double halo round his face, mace in left hand. No circular legend.

Rev. Lakshmī standing on lotus. Legend. *Chakravikramaḥ.*]

Kumaragupta I : 623 coins

Archer type.—With *Kumāra.*		83
Var. A. Bow held at the top with string outward and *Kumāra* under arm.	5	
Var. B. As above with the legend, *Mahārājādhirāja*	10	
Var. C. Bow held at the middle, string outside, *Kumāra* outside the string and legend *Mahārājādhirāja.*	1	
Var. D. With the legend *Guṇeśo.* (Bow sometimes held at the middle and sometimes at the top)	3	
Var. E. Bow held at the middle and legend *Mahītalaṁ.*	3	
Var. F. As above, but indistinct legend	61	
Archer type : With *Ku* under arm.		67
With the legend *Vijitāvani.*	27	
With the legend *Mahītalaṁ.*	18	
With indistinct legend.	22	
Archer type : With neither *Ku* nor *Kumāra* and the legend *Paramarājādhirāja.*		27
Peacock type ;		13
Var. A. Deity facing three quarters to l.	10	
Var. B. Deity facing front	3	

Types.		No. in the hoard.
Lion-slayer type.		54
With the legend *Sākshādiva Nārasiṁhaḥ.*	20	
With the legend *Kumāragupto vijayī.*	9	
With the legend *Kumāragupto Yudhi siṁhavikramaḥ.*	9	
With the legend *Kumāragupto bhuvi siṁhavikramah.* NEW	1	
With indistinct legend.	14	
With king to r.	1	
Tiger-slayer type.		39
With *Ku.*	31	
Without *Ku.*	8	
Horseman Type.		308
Goddess feeding peacock. *Guptakulavyomaśaśī* is the most common legend ; *Kshitipatirajito vijayī* comes next. *Guptakulāmalachandro* ranks third. *Prithvītalaṁ* is the rarest legend. On about 100 coins the legend cannot be made out.	257	
Goddess on wicker stool. *Kshitipatirajito vijayī* is the most common legend, next comes *Guptakulavyomaśaśī* and *Guptakulāmalachandro.*	51	
'*Pratāpa*' type[1] The central figure shows clearly folded arms at the waist—RARE.		1
Aśvamedha type.		4
Var. A. Caparisoned horse to r.	2	
Var. B. Bare horse to l. *N.B.* Circular legend contains the word *Kumāra.*	2	
Elephant-rider type. RARE.		3
Elephant-rider-Lion-slayer type. RARE.		3
Chhattra Type. NEW.		2
Rhinoceros-slayer type.[1] UNIQUE.		2

1. It is hoped that more coins of this type belonging to this hoard would become available for study.

Types.	No. in the hoard.

[Obv. King on horse to r. attacking a rhinoceros by a sword in r. hand.

Rev. Lakshmī with an umbrella-bearer behind.]

Kramāditya: 1 coin.

(Personal name not given.).

Chhatra type. UNIQUE. 1

[Obv. King to r., nimbate, with an umbrella-bearer behind.

Rev. Lakshmī standing facing l.
Legend, *Kramādityaḥ.*]

SUMMARY

Chandragupta I	10
Samudragupta	173
Kāchagupta	15
Chandragupta II	961
Kumāragupta I	623
Kramāditya	1
Damaged and blurred	5
Total	1788

REVIEWS.

Numismatic Parallels of Kālidāsa; By C. Sivarama Murti, M. A., Curator, Archæological Section. Government Mussum, Madras. pp. 1-40 ; 28 figures. Price. 2/

Published By Saktikaryalayam, Madras. 1945.

The present booklet is charming, interesting and scholarly. The author illustrates in it 28 numismatic motifs which appear to him to show numismatic parallels to some striking ideas contained in the works of Kālidāsa. Each motif is illustrated by an accurate and beautiful drawing, which enhances the charm and utility of the booklet.

The author does not claim that the coin motifs he has discussed were inspired by Kālidāsa ; he only maintains that they show numismatic parallels to Kālidāsa. He has thus wisely avoided taking the debatable position suggested by his earlier work, Sculptures inspired by Kālidāsa.

There can be no doubt that the Lyrist type of Samudragupta recalls to our mind Kālidāsa's description of the lyre of sweet notes planted on the thigh (*Raghuvaṁśa*, XIX, 19) ; similarly the pose of the king about to shoot at the lion on some coins of Chandragupta II recalls Raghu's description :

स एवमुक्त्वा मघवन्तमुन्मुखः करिष्यमाणः सशरः शरासनम् ।

अतिष्ठदालीढविशेषशोभिना वपुःप्रकर्षेण विडंबितेश्वरः ॥

Raghuvaṁsa III. 52.

It is also quite possible that Samācharadeva's coin illustrates the idea contained in

निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसंस्थमस्मिन्द्वयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च ।

कान्त्या गिरा सूनृतया च योग्या त्वमेव कल्याणि तयोस्तृतीया ॥

In a few cases we feel that the parallels are rather far fetched or non-existent. The idea of the emperor as *ekadhanurdhara* is better expressed by the Archer type of the Gupta emperors, where the emperors are shown with bow and arrow, than by the Bow-and-arrow type of the Kolhapur coins which show these two objects without their wielder. One may very much doubt whether the rude coins of Pavata having a three-arched hill by the side of a tree, really illustrate the idea contained in *Raghuvaṁśa*, XVII. 26. The presence of the Bull and the Elephant on some Greek coins is really due to local worship ; the bull on one coin is expressly described as

the tutelary deity of Kapiśā. It is extremely doubtful if the Bull and Elephant type of Apollodotus can ever be regarded as illustrating the idea contained in

> महोक्षतां वत्सतरः स्पृशन्निव द्विपेन्द्रभावं कलभः स्पृशन्निव ।
> रघुः क्रमाद्यौवनभिन्नशैशवः पुपोष गांभीर्यमनोहरं वपुः ॥ *A. S. A.*

In a large number of cases, however, the reader cannot but agree with the author and feel grateful to him for bringing out beautiful parallels, which so long remained unnoticed. The book will vividly emphasise the necessity of corelating the studies of archæology with those of literature.

Coins of Marwar. By M. M. Pandit Bishveshwar Nath Reu, Superintendent of Archæology, Jodhpur. pp. 1-29 ; 5 plates. Published by Jodhpur Government, 1946.

In the present booklet, the author gives an interesting account of the coinage of Marwar from *c.* 400 B. C. to 1945. Notices of early coinage of Marwar remained scattered at different places ; an account of the medieval and modern coinage can be gathered only from different catalogues. It was therefore a step in the right direction to bring out a brochure describing the Marwar coinage from the earliest times to the present day in one place.

Marwar had no special coinage of its own in the ancient period. The author has therefore given an account of such ancient coins as were found in Marwar. They were however few ; the bulk of the book therefore naturally deals with the modern coinage of the state. The author describes the coinage, illustrates the important types and gives the transliteration and and translation of the coin legends. The book also gives many interesting facts about mint-management during the last 200 years. It is illustrated by five plates.

The author refers to a hoard of 6585 coins of the early Arab Governors of Sindh and 3811 coins of the Gadhia type. It would have been very good if these coins had been adequately dealt with in the book. We possess only a very vague knowledge of the tussle between the Arabs and the Gurjara Pratīhāras ; the coins of the Arab governors, if properly analysed, may throw some important light upon the vicissitudes of this conflict.

A. S. A.

The Late Dr. N. K. Bhattasali.

BY N. B. SANYAL, M. A., B.L.,

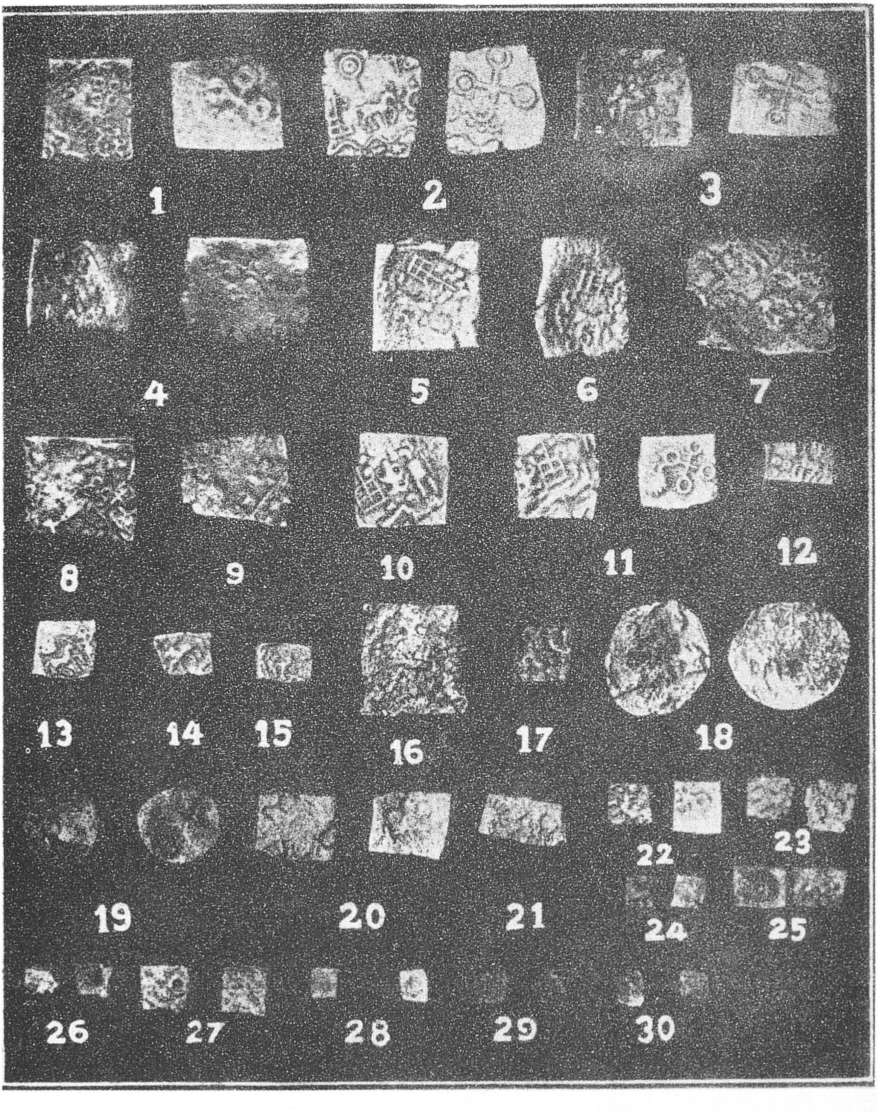
Varendra Research Society, Rajashahi.

It is with deep regret that we announce the death by sudden heart failure of Dr. N. K. Bhattasali, which occurred at Dacca on 6-2-1947.

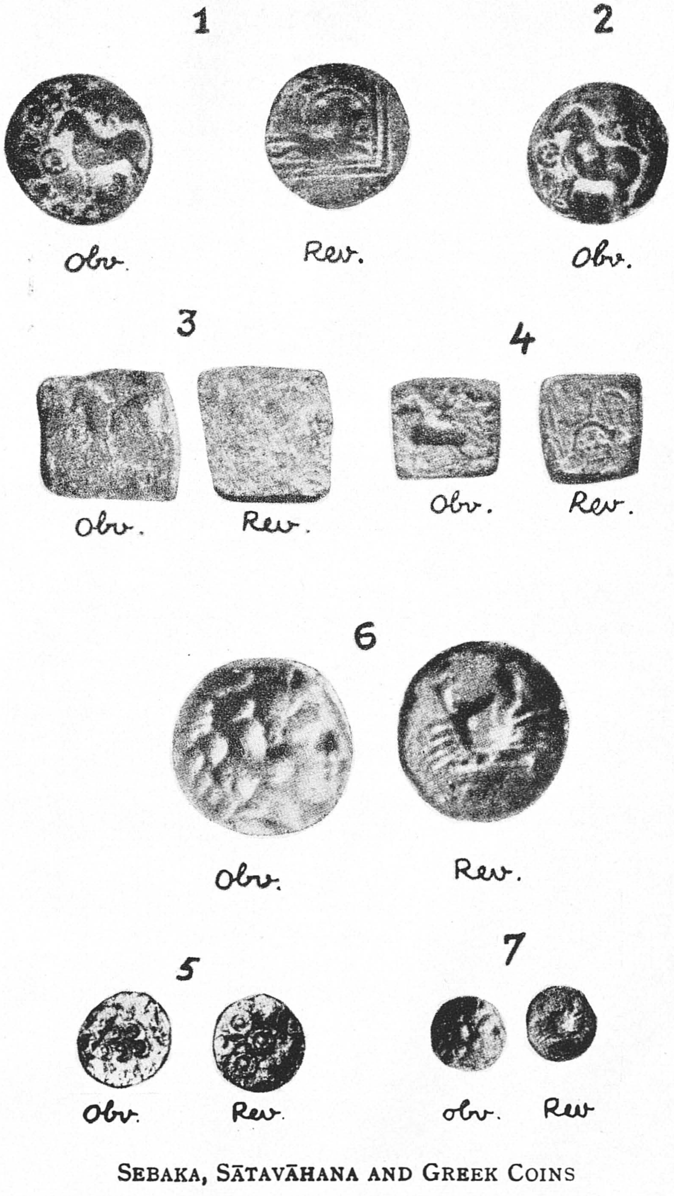
Dr. Bhattasali was the soul of the Dacca Museum, of which he was the worthy curator from its foundation in 1912. The indefatigable zeal, which he showed in building the Dacca Museum, when he had hardly any funds to purchase antiquities, will never be forgotten by the public of Eastern Bengal. Dr. Bhattasali moved incessantly, created public interest and sympathy, collected monuments and manuscripts and took a real delight in explaining their significance and importance to the visitors of his Museum. His book on '*Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*,' which earned him a Doctorate from the Dacca University, gives us an insight into his deep and wide scholarship and shows that he was as great in explaining and interpreting monuments as in discovering and collecting them.

'*Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bangal*' which was published as a Griffith Memorial Thesis in 1922, at once established the reputation of Dr. Bhattasali as a numismatist. His paper on 'Attribution of the imitation Gupta coins' published in *J. A. S. B.*, 1925, Num. Suppl. pp. 1—6, threw welcome light on an obscure problem. His paper on 'Old coins and how they help History' published in the *Modern Review* Vol. XLV, pp. 38-44 not only imparts new knowledge but is well calculated to excite public interest in the neglected branch of Numismatics. Mr. Bhattasali has published about thirty papers on different branches of Archæology and Indology, but it is not possible to enumerate them owing to the present paper restrictions.

Dr. Bhattasali joined the Numismatic Society in 1941 and was elected a member of the Editorial Board of this *Journal* in December 1946. We expected the *Journal* to be benefited and enriched by his co-operation, but all these hopes have been dashed to pieces by the cruel hand of Death, which has abruptly terminated the career of a simple, unassuming but noble and accomplished scholar. May his soul rest in peace !

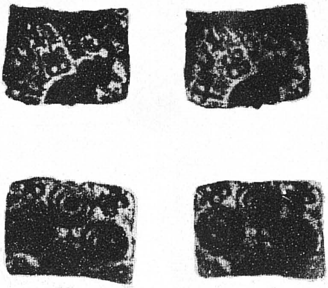


NEW COINS FROM KASARWAD



SEBAKA, SĀTAVĀHANA AND GREEK COINS

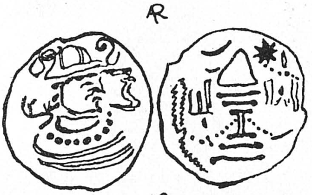
A



1 2

A Coin of Kauśikiputra Sātakarṇi

B



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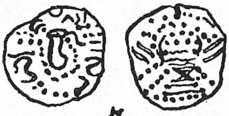

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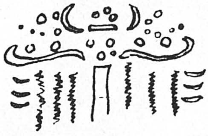
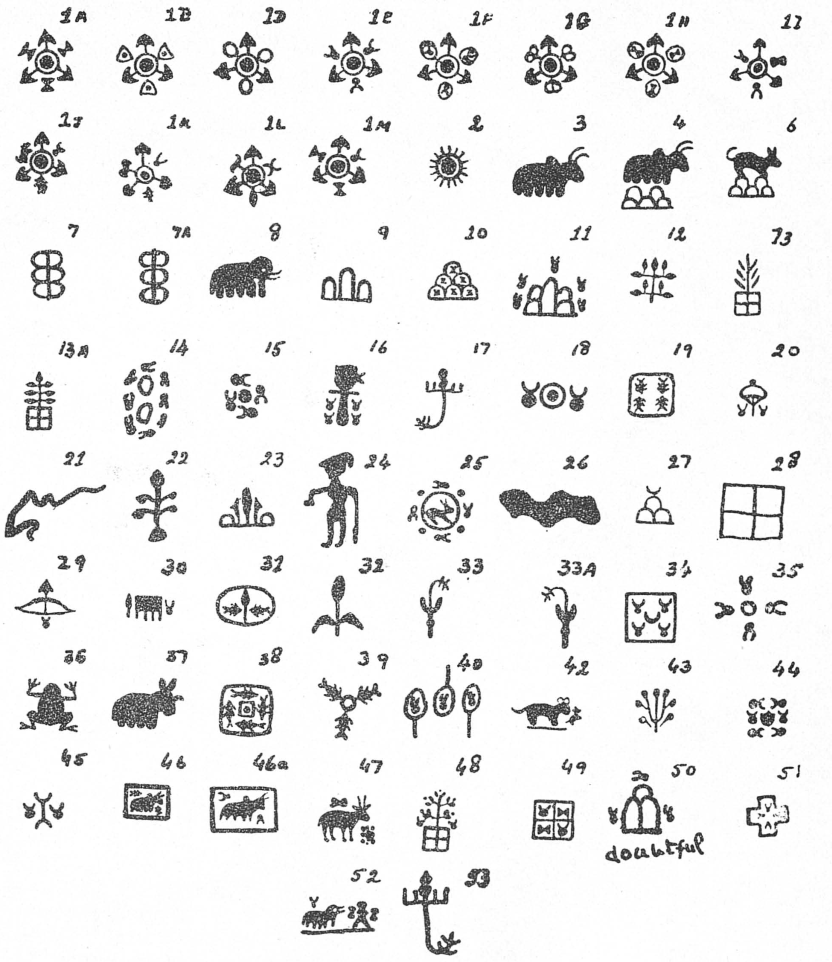


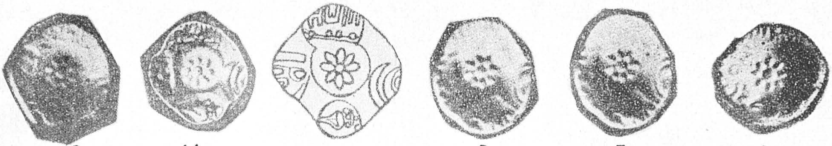
Fig 1

Indo—Sassanian Coins

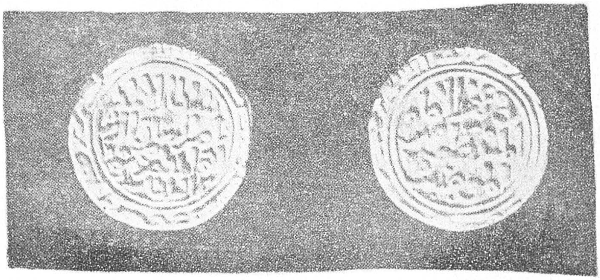


Symbols on Bahal Punch-marked Coins

A



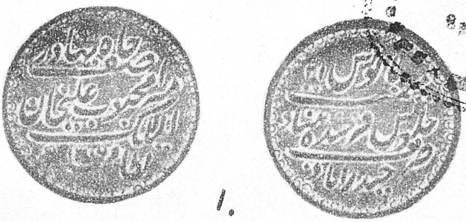
1a 1b 1c 2 3 4



5

COINS FROM RAIGARH HOARD.

B



1.

2.

MACHINE-MADE COINS OF HYDERABAD.

C

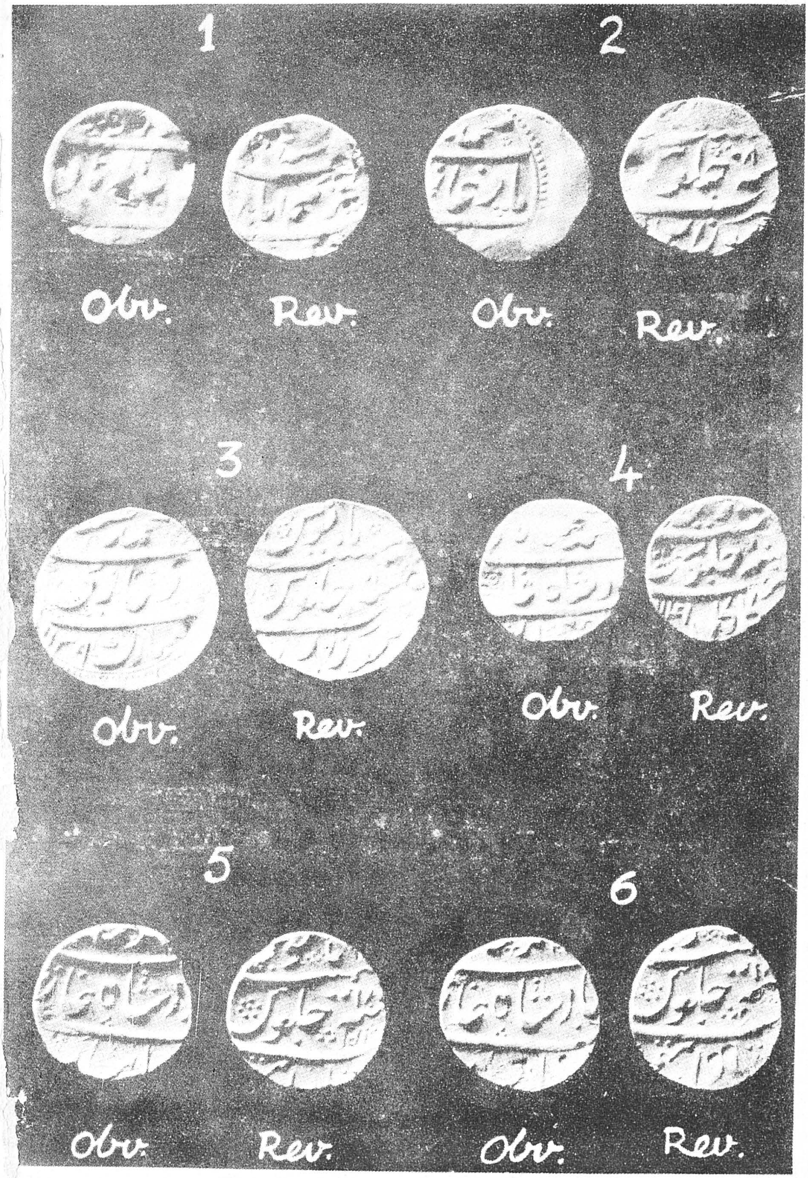
1 2 3 4

COINS FROM WATSON MUSEUM.

OBVERSE

REVERSE

DILIPANAGAR MINT COIN OF SHAH ALAM II.
(Enlarged four times.)



MUGHAL COINS FROM KOLHAPUR